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NOTE

Symbols of United Nations documents are composed of capital letters combined with figures. Mention of such a symbol indicates a reference to a United Nations document.

Documents of the Security Council (symbol S/ . . .) are normally published in quarterly *Supplements* of the *Official Records of the Security Council.* The date of the document indicates the supplement in which it appears or in which information about it is given.

The resolutions of the Security Council, numbered in accordance with a system adopted in 1964, are published in yearly volumes of *Resolutions and Decisions of the Security Council.* The new system, which has been applied retroactively to resolutions adopted before 1 January 1965, became fully operative on that date.

2608th MEETING

Held in New York on Thursday, 26 September 1985, at 3 p.m.

President: Sir Geoffrey HOWE (United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland).

Present: The representatives of the following States: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, India, Madagascar, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, United States of America.

Provisional agenda (S/Agenda/2608)

1. Adoption of the agenda

2. United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security

The meeting was called to order at 3.15 p.m.

Adoption of the agenda

1. The PRESIDENT: Members of the Council will recall that the date and agenda for this commemorative meeting of the Council were agreed upon in consultations held last month. In accordance with that consensus, the provisional agenda for this meeting is before the Council in document S/Agenda/2608. Unless I hear any objection, I shall consider the agenda adopted.

The agenda was adopted.

United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security

2. The PRESIDENT: I have been informed by the Secretary-General that at this commemorative meeting of the Security Council the following members of the Council are represented by their Minister for Foreign Affairs: Australia, Burkina Faso, China, Denmark, Egypt, France, Peru, Thailand, Trinidad and Tobago, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, the Soviet Union, the United Kingdom and the United States. India is represented by the Minister of State for Commerce, who has been duly accredited by his Government. Madagascar is represented by its Permanent Representative to the United Nations.

3. The spirit of co-operation demonstrated by all those present here, which has made this very important meeting possible, is greatly appreciated by all of us.

4. The fact that just before we started our business an unheralded item on the agenda consisted of a storm warning is, I emphasize, unheralded. The fact that upstairs they are closing the windows against the storm is all the more reason for us down here to be opening the windows for peace.

5. The Council will now begin its consideration of the item on its agenda. I call on the Secretary-General.

6. The Secretary-General (*interpretation from Spanish*): I agree with you, Mr. President, that the tempestuous threats from outside are tempered by the tranquillity of our meeting here today.

7. At the inaugural meeting of the Security Council, the first President, who was from Australia, said in his opening remarks that the Council would perform a function which was unique in the history of international organizations—the direction of collective action for the maintenance of peace, justice and the rule of law.

8. That assertion by the first President—and I may say how fitting it is that on this commemorative occasion a Minister of the Australian Government is once again present at the Council table—was totally in keeping with the conviction and hope the founding nations placed in the concept of a representative, multilateral body, responsible for the maintenance of peace and security among the sovereign States of the international community. In the course of 40 years, we have seen the difficulties entailed in fully realizing the anticipated benefits of this concept. I have myself felt compelled to warn that the Security Council is not fully achieving the goals set for it in the Charter of the United Nations. But, even now, I would agree with that first President of the Council. The Council is an historically unique organ, with a purpose and responsibility which is not and cannot be shown by any other entity.

9. The Security Council has remained in essentially permanent session for almost 40 years. Its members have always been on call to consider action to be taken in the face of threats to peace and security. Effective measures have been taken on numerous occasions that demonstrate the capacity of a multilateral body empowered to act for the preservation of peace on behalf of all nations. Governments have consistently sent representatives of high ability to represent them in the Council, and their talent, conviction and hard work over the years have given a further dimension to the unique quality of this body.

10. As we judge the first 40 years of the United Nations, we have to take full account of the nature of the world in which it operates, and of which, I believe, it is now an irreplaceable part. This is especially true of the Security Council, with its central responsibility for the maintenance of peace. The world, when seen as a whole over these 40 years, has achieved extraordinary progress in meeting, through technological and social advances, basic human needs. The United Nations has been a major catalyst and instrument in these changes, and it must continue to be so as we deal with the enormous needs which remain. Neither the United Nations, however, nor those changes to which it has contributed have as yet eliminated the political divisions within the international community. Some have grown in depth and intensity. The divisions have their roots in conflicting ideologies, in competing national claims and ambitions, in territorial disputes and in structural changes in the global society.

11. I see these divisions not as something new but as a very old disease afflicting our era, as it has afflicted those of the past. Among its visible and frequently destructive symptoms today are fear and suspicion, terrorism, the devotion of enormous and irrational quantities of resources to arms and, all too frequently, the outbreak of conflict. The fact that, despite these divisions, 15 nations representing all regions and very divergent political orientations remain in continuing contact in this body in connection with major political issues is further confirmation of the unique character of the Security Council. It has long been apparent, however, that these divisions have come to affect adversely the capacity of the Council to fulfil the function described by the first President of directing collective action for the maintenance of peace.

12. I do not believe that the Security Council can cure the disease of political divisions. It must act in spite of them. The Council's main task, as I see it, is to limit and reduce the adverse effects of those divisions. One of the speakers at the first Council meeting commented that the responsibility of the Security Council was not to create the conditions for peace, which was the competence of other bodies of the United Nations system. The responsibility of the Council was to see that peace was kept in fact. This remains today the contribution required from the Security Council for a better world.

13. Since 1983, the Council itself has been engaged in consultations on means of enhancing its effectiveness in this task. This process can now be seen as an important element in the assessments being made in this fortieth anniversary year, both within and outside of Governments, of the performance of the United Nations. Much can be, and has been, learned from both the past achievements and the reverses of this performance, including those of the Security Council. But this will be of pragmatic value in terms of world peace only if what has been learned from the past is applied to the future.

14. I very much hope that out of the fortieth anniversary commemoration will come, among other things, a new determination to resolve issues that could be resolved by the judicious use, by a unanimous Council, of the measures available to it in the Charter. It seems to me that there are questions where the views of all members converge to a surprising degree. I believe that the constructive resolution of such problems would do much to reassure the membership of the United Nations, and the world community as a whole, of the effectiveness of the Council.

15. If, as many have concluded in the course of the Council's consultations, crises have frequently been brought before the Council too late for preventive action, it would seem to follow that the Council might well establish a procedure to keep the world under continuing survey in order to detect nascent causes of tension. In this same context, there would seem to be substantial benefit to be derived from an agreed procedure for fact-finding which could be easily and quickly implemented where instances of potential conflict are detected.

16. If, as has also been widely noted in the Council's consultations, peace-keeping forces have proved a highly useful means in the past of preventing the recurrence of conflict, then there would seem to be value, in terms of the future, in considering ways in which these forces might be used to discourage recourse to arms.

17. Forty years of experience has given the Council a firm basis both for reflection and for future action. No one can be in any doubt of the objective, or of its importance. Rather, our doubts concern the relationships among the members and the corporate capacity of the Council to take the necessary decisions and action in the prevailing political conditions.

18. I have had occasion to state that the deep political divisions within the international community, especially among the States members of the Security Council, have frequently inhibited the Council's effectiveness over the past 40 years. The conclusion should not be drawn, however, that since the divisions may well long persist, the Council's effectiveness will, of necessity, be equally inhibited in the future. Profound political differences among Council members have not always prevented effective Security Council action in dealing with crises in the past.

19. The instances of success in truly collective action for the preservation of peace sould be studied for the guidance they can provide to the Council in its future activity. At the same time, the failures of the past should be viewed in the perspective of a world which in the future may be even more heavily armed, and tension even more acute. An ineffective Security Council can, in such a world, be in the interest of no nation. A fully effective Council, pursuing collectively the aims defined in the Charter, would however serve the interests of all.

20. If this view is shared by the Governments represented here, they may wish to consider individually, bilaterally and multilaterally how and to what extent the collective endeavours of the Council in the interest of peace can be insulated from the differences and disputes that may exist between them. In very immediate terms, there could be

value in including this question on the agendas of meetings among national leaders that will take place here in New York in connection with the fortieth session of the General Assembly.

21. On this auspicious occasion I wish to express the hope that this commemorative meeting will serve to consolidate and renew the authority and prestige of the Council. It is easy to criticize and find fault with political institutions. What is important—indeed essential—for humanity is to have in the Security Council a just, effective and determined guardian of the peace, which it can respect and rely on. The presence of distinguished Ministers in this room today is proof of the importance of the responsibility of the Council and of the Council itself. Members of the United Nations have agreed that the Security Council, in discharging its responsibilities for the maintenance of peace, is acting on their behalf. I express the hope that this meeting will mark the beginning of a new spirit and of renewed dedication in the Security Council.

22. The PRESIDENT: I call on the first speaker, the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Mr. Eduard Shevardnadze.

23. Mr. SHEVARDNADZE (Union of Soviet Socialist Republics) (*interpretation from Russian*): The anniversary of the United Nations is a good occasion, with due regard for the lessons of the past, to assess the present and look to the future.

24. Our representative gathering has before it the concrete task of enhancing the role of the United Nations in building a better world and augmenting the effectiveness of the Security Council, which is entrusted with the primary responsibility for maintaining peace and security.

25. The urgency of this task is due above all to the complexity of the international situation. We have already had an opportunity at a meeting of the General Assembly to indicate the reasons for the present tensions. Now I wish only to stress once again that the blame rests with those who persist in their unwillingness to reckon with the realities of our time, who count on obtaining military superiority and seek to dictate their will to others.

26. The world finds itself at a crossroads of sorts. Either the present dangerous trend fraught with catastrophic consequences for mankind will continue to develop, or it will prove possible by joint efforts to avert the threat of war, put an end to the arms race and release funds for solving urgent economic and social problems.

27. It is only by uniting the efforts of all States that mankind can be saved today from the danger hanging over it. This is attested to also by the experience of the anti-Hitlerite coalition, and indeed, by the very fact of the establishment of the United Nations, which is inseparably linked with the great victory of the freedom-loving peoples.

28. The indisputability of this conclusion is particularly obvious in the nuclear and space age. Strict compliance by States with the Charter of the United Nations requirement to live in peace with each other as good neighbours—and this, as we see it, is precisely what peaceful coexistence means—is the only rational alternative to a nuclear tragedy.

29. Indeed, the very name of this organization—the United Nations—is pronounced with such hope and respect in all languages precisely because it embodies the idea of uniting the efforts of States for the sake of a peaceful future.

30. History demonstrates that whenever Members of the United Nations have been able to rise above their ideological, political and other differences for the sake of their common interests, this has produced real results in the strengthening of peace. On those occasions, the Organization has lived up to its role as an effective mechanism for fruitful international co-operation.

31. A realistic and responsible approach to international affairs requires overcoming the present tensions, reviving détente and making concrete efforts to build a better world.

32. Were people on any continent, in any country, asked what a better world means for them, it can be safely asserted that, despite differences in their world outlook, ideology and national or cultural traditions, they would be of one mind primarily, in that a better world is a world without fear of a nuclear catastrophe, a world free of weapons, whether nuclear-missile, chemical, or any other. Today there are already so many means of warfare in the arsenals of States that they are sufficient to destroy all life on earth. Nevertheless, their accumulation and qualitative build-up continue. Furthermore, in addition to the, so to speak, earthly weapons, there are plans for acquiring space arms, including weapons that can practically instantaneously strike any target, wherever located—on land, at sea, in the air or in space itself.

33. The Soviet Union has stated that it will not be the first to step into outer space with arms. But let no one hope that it will not be able to take necessary countermeasures should anyone else take such a step.

34. The genius of man should be directed not at inventing ever more sophisticated means of self-destruction but at attaining new heights in scientific and technological progress in order to improve the life of people. That is precisely what the Soviet Union is doing. Our country was the first to place an artificial satellite in orbit around the earth. A citizen of the Soviet Union, Yuri Alexeyevich Gagarin, was the world's first cosmonaut. Soviet engineers were pioneers in building a nuclear-power station and a nuclear-powered ice-breaker.

35. Pursuing its invariable, principled course, the Soviet Union has submitted for the consideration of the current

General Assembly session a proposal on developing international co-operation in the peaceful exploitation of outer space under conditions of its non-militarization.[1] We are in favour of preventing the appearance of arms in space and of opening it up for the joint constructive endeavours of States. A decision to this effect should be adopted without delay, before the arms race breaks out into space.

36. In accordance with the Charter, all Members of the Organization should contribute to the achievement of disarmament. Of course, that applies above all to the nuclear-weapon States, particularly since all of them are permanent members of the Security Council.

37. The Soviet Union has unilaterally ceased nuclear explosions. In view of the presence in this Chamber of the representatives of the other nuclear Powers, we once again urge them, particularly the United States, to consider that initiative most seriously and to follow our example. As for verification, that problem is raised artificially. Today a nuclear explosion cannot be concealed, and those who make assertions to the contrary are also well aware of that.

38. Our country proposes that agreement be reached on the entire complex of issues concerning the removal of the nuclear threat, from freezing to completely eliminating nuclear arms. In limiting and reducing arms of any kind, the Soviet Union will go as far as its partners are prepared to go.

39. For the world to become a better place, it has to be freed from hotbeds of aggression and armed conflict. Today this means putting an end to the interference in the internal affairs of Nicaragua and other countries of Central America, the undeclared war against Afghanistan and the aggression against the Arab States; giving the Arab people of Palestine an opportunity to establish a State of its own, and terminating the illegal occupation of Namibia by South Africa's racist régime.

40. It is essential not only to eliminate the existing conflicts but also to do everything possible to prevent new crisis situations. To achieve that, the Charter principles of the non-use of force, non-interference in the internal affairs of other States, the peaceful settlement of disputes and respect for sovereignty must truly become the law of international life. Any encroachment on those principles should be strongly opposed, and the Security Council has a special role to play in that respect.

41. The Soviet Union consistently acts in the belief that all States and peoples should really live in peace and harmony, in conditions of dependable security. We are pursuing this objective in our bilateral relations with other States as well as on the regional level when we work to continue and develop the European process started at Helsinki and when we put forward the idea of a comprehensive approach to security in Asia. We seek the same objective on a global scale, in particular in the United Nations, where we put forward major initiatives.

42. A better world is also a world free from oppression of the peoples and suppression of the individual, a world in which exploitation of man by man has been eliminated, where complete equality of nations and ethnicities has been achieved—a genuine democracy where access to a wide range of social benefits, cultural values and the heights of knowledge is guaranteed.

43. The United Nations should continue to uphold firmly true human rights and freedoms, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion, and to support all those who are struggling against the vestiges of colonialism, racial discrimination and genocide.

44. A better world cannot be built unless all States renounce the use of economic and financial levers as a means of political coercion. It cannot be built without eliminating discrimination in international economic relations and restructuring them on a just and democratic basis.

45. Constructive co-operation between States in expanding mutually beneficial trade and scientific and technological ties and in solving such global problems as those of the elimination of hunger and backwardness, the protection of the environment and the exploration of the world's oceans is becoming the imperative of our time in the true sense of those words.

46. It serves the interest of progress towards a better world to make the maximum use of all possibilities offered by the United Nations. As one of the founders of the United Nations, the Soviet Union would like it to become a truly authoritative universal peace organization. We believe that the better the Organization serves the interests of the peoples, the greater will be its prestige. That is why our country favours enhancing in every possible way the effectiveness of the Organization and particularly that of the Security Council.

47. When joining the United Nations, all States undertake to abide by the decisions of the Security Council. The least that is required of States in order to attain the goals proclaimed in the Charter is that they should act in conformity with the Council's decisions. It is inadmissible that Council resolutions should remain on paper only, especially its resolutions aimed at removing the crisis situations in the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa.

48. Under the Charter, the Security Council is vested with broad powers to ensure the implementation of its decisions. If, so far, the Council has been unable to put its entire potential at the service of peace, it is because some people view the United Nations through the prism of their own narrow interests. Moreover, inadmissible steps are sometimes taken to undermine the entire United Nations system.

49. In his recent annual report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General has expressed justifiable concern about the fact that the United Nations "suffers from a lack of respect for, and failure to co-operate with,

the Council's decisions".[2] In that context, we note with satisfaction the efforts the Secretary-General is making in accordance with the Charter to promote the implementation of decisions taken by the Council and other United Nations bodies.

50. Let me mention something else, too. A better world cannot be built by taking into account the interests and views of one State only, however powerful and economically developed that State might be. Nor can it be built for a limited group of States. A better world means peace for all, which can be achieved only through the efforts of all. I wish to stress this here in the Security Council, whose work is based on the principle of the unanimity of its permanent members.

51. The responsibility incumbent on the permanent members of the Council in no way detracts, of course, from the role the other Council members and all other States Members of the Organization are called upon to play in maintaining world peace. Whatever their differences, these should not be allowed to overshadow what is most important: namely, their common responsibility for eliminating the nuclear threat and safeguarding peace.

52. In the words of Mikhail S. Gorbachev, General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union:

> "All people want to live; no one wants to die. Therefore, we should muster political courage and stop the ominous process that is developing. It is necessary to stop the arms race and to proceed to disarmament and begin improving relations."

53. I express the hope that our meeting today will give a new impulse to the effort to enhance the effectiveness of the United Nations and the Security Council in their work for the benefit of peace and the good of mankind.

54. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Vladimir Kravets.

55. Mr. KRAVETS (Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic) (*interpretation from Russian*): Among the anniversaries and noteworthy events which are marked on the international political calendar this year, the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is undoubtedly one which stands out. The historic significance of this anniversary lies in its organic link with a feat of undying memory—the great victory of the peoples of the coalition of united nations over the forces of fascism and militarism.

56. The triumph of peace over the forces of reaction and war is a striking example of fruitful co-operation among countries with different social and political systems united against a common threat. That inspired the authors of the Charter of the United Nations to write:

> "We the peoples of the United Nations, determined to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war . . .
>
> "And for these ends to . . . live together in peace with one another as good neighbours, and to unite our strength to maintain international peace and security . . .".

57. The Ukrainian people is proud of the fact that at the Conference in San Francisco the Preamble to the Charter, which contains those words, and Chapter I, on purposes and principles, were drafted in a Committee chaired by the then Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Mr. Dmitri Zaharovich Manouilsky.

58. Throughout its 40 years of membership in the United Nations, the Ukrainian SSR has been and remains true to the principles proclaimed in the Charter: the non-use of force, non-intervention in internal affairs of others, the peaceful settlement of disputes, respect for sovereignty and the equality of States large and small. We have always supported and we continue to support the establishment and expansion of mutually advantageous co-operation on a basis of equality among countries for the sake of peace and the good of mankind.

59. We believe that the United Nations has done a great deal to promote this cause—not everything we would have wished, of course, and not always when it was most necessary. But blame for the inadequate effectiveness of the Organization belongs to those States which, in spite of the obligations they have assumed, are unwilling or refuse to comply with them in accordance with the Charter.

60. We vigorously condemn the policy of threats and blackmail with regard to the United Nations and its specialized agencies, which at the present time has attained scandalous proportions. The international intergovernmental organization should not and cannot be the tool of any State or group of States. It is for this very reason that it is international, because its task is to serve the interests of all peoples and States. A better world for all is possible only through the efforts of all.

61. The Ukrainian SSR believes that the United Nations and the Charter possess a great reserve of creative energy for the purpose of building a better world. The fact that for 40 years now it has been possible to prevent the outbreak of a new world war is abundant testimony to this. On the credit side of the Organization's balance-sheet, a document that was adopted 25 years ago deserves a special place—namely, the Declaration on the Granting of Independence to Colonial Countries and Peoples. The implementation of this Declaration has been of invaluable assistance to the national liberation struggle of the peoples and has promoted the attainment of freedom and independence by dozens of former colonies and hundreds of millions of human beings. The young States of Asia, Africa and Latin America which have joined the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries have participated in the most active way in the presentation and adoption of decisions in all organs of the United Nations.

62. By drawing on the means provided in the Charter for the settlement of international conflicts and the prevention and halting of acts of aggression, the Organization has

made a definite contribution to overcoming a number of grave international crises.

63. The Security Council has an important role here. In the context today of ways and means of enhancing its effectiveness, we state once again that the success of the Council's work depends, first and foremost, on the political will of States and their determination to strive for the consistent attainment of those noble goals set out in the Charter. It is of paramount importance in this regard that all States comply unswervingly with their obligation under the Charter to abide by decisions of the Council and to carry them out. We cannot permit resolutions of the Council designed to eliminate crisis situations—in particular in the Middle East, Central America and southern Africa—to remain unimplemented.

64. Article 24 of the Charter unambiguously states:

> "In order to ensure prompt and effective action by the United Nations, its Members confer on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, and agree that in carrying out its duties under this responsibility the Security Council acts on their behalf."

65. The Security Council has been entrusted with broad powers in performing its functions; these include the right to take effective preventive measures and to impose comprehensive mandatory sanctions.

66. The basis for improvement of the effectiveness of the United Nations is, accordingly, strict compliance by all Member States with the Charter, the maximum utilization of the potential of the Security Council, underlying whose work is the principle of the unanimity of the permanent members, and unswerving compliance with decisions of the Council.

67. It is not the imperfections of the Charter that should be blamed or, indeed, the work of the Organization, but rather the militaristic forces. That is why the peoples of the world are facing the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations in a situation of growing anxiety for the fate of the world. The Charter, which was written 40 years ago, has lost none of its significance today in our nuclear space age, which has opened up for mankind boundless possibilities and prospects of a better life and of development, but at the same time constitutes a real threat of global annihilation.

68. It is hardly necessary to point out in this regard that in order to combat the present difficult and dangerous situation in the world the efforts of all States are needed and that the major target of these concerted efforts is today the elimination of the threat of nuclear war.

69. The elimination of the nuclear danger, the cessation of the arms race on earth and preventing it spreading to space, the political settlement of conflicts and the elimination of hotbeds of tension, the organizing of businesslike co-operation among States on a basis of equality and equal security, the normalization of international economic relations—all these have been and are the goal of the persistent and consistent efforts of the socialist States.

70. The celebration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations should, in our view, serve as an additional incentive for the concerted efforts of States in the interests of achieving the lofty purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter. History teaches us that we must fight against wars before they are begun. No other course is open to us.

71. The policy of scrapping the existing military-strategic balance in the world and the attainment of military superiority, stepping up the arms race and extending it to outer space, are paths that lead only to the abyss. In view of the danger threatening us, the only sensible alternative for all States and peoples is the development of international relations as laid down in the Charter.

72. The Ukrainian SSR attaches great importance to the United Nations as an effective instrument for peace and will do everything in its power to promote the success of its work in its major areas of competence, namely, the strengthening of international peace and security, the establishment of good-neighbourly relations among nations and the development of international co-operation.

73. The Ukrainian SSR is ready to make its contribution to the work of the Security Council, the organ to which the Member States have entrusted the major responsibility for the maintenance of peace.

74. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Trinidad and Tobago, Mr. Errol Mahabir.

75. Mr. MAHABIR (Trinidad and Tobago): I am deeply honoured to address this special meeting of the Security Council convened to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. It is a happy coincidence that this historic meeting is being held under the presidency of a country which was one of the founding nations and which has since then continued to play a prominent role in the conduct of the affairs of the Council. I am confident that under your wise and able guidance, Sir, this meeting will prove most constructive at this crucial juncture in the existence of the Council and of the United Nations.

76. I wish to congratulate the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics on the efficient manner in which his country's representative conducted the affairs of the Council during the month of August.

77. Allow me at this time to convey to the Government and the people of Mexico the heartfelt sympathy of the Government and the people of Trinidad and Tobago for the extensive damage and loss of life resulting from the recent earthquakes in Mexico.

78. Forty years ago, the world, already shocked by the destruction and suffering of the Second World War, recoiled in horror at the devastation visited upon Hiroshima and Nagasaki by what was then the most lethal weapon of war ever employed by man. In the aftermath was born an urgent desire to promote peace among nations and to forswear the use of force in the settlement of disputes. Thus, in 1945, 51 States, reaffirming their faith in human dignity and in the equality of all men and of all nations, agreed to establish the United Nations. The founding fathers envisaged that the United Nations would achieve a more sober and stable international order. This organization, inspired by a desire for collective security, was intended to establish and to maintain international peace and security and to foster an environment for orderly, progressive developmental growth and economic reconstruction.

79. Any analysis of today's world would show that the reasons which led to the concerns of the founders of the United Nations remain valid. The Security Council, which has been entrusted with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, is therefore under a special obligation to determine whether it has been proceeding in the right direction over the past four decades and to identify the measures which should be adopted in order to achieve fully the aims set out in the Charter of the United Nations.

80. The experience of the last 40 years indicates clearly that what the Council can and must achieve is the creation of a climate which will conduce to the realization that a spiralling arms race is not the guarantee of the safety and security which it seeks. We shrink from imputing to any country the barbarous desire to gain world domination by unleashing the most lethal and devastating of the weapons in its armoury. We are convinced that what every State really desires is freedom to survive in a peaceful environment in which it can improve the living conditions of its citizens and be secure from the risk of attack by others.

81. It is ironical, however, that in many cases this precious freedom is being sought by expending monumental sums of money on weapons of limitless destruction. One recognizes that every nation has a right to defend itself. But the growing arms build-up, both nuclear and conventional, has triggered an intense race far in excess of the legitimate need for self-defence and is posing a threat to international peace and security. In fact, one thousand billion dollars are spent each year on weapons of destruction. A fraction of that expenditure could eradicate the aggravated famine of this world. An estimated 30 children die per minute for want of food and basic medical supplies, yet in that same minute three million dollars are disbursed on armaments. The world would be transformed if the time, the skills, the energy and the wealth so prodigally expended on means of destruction were applied to the betterment of mankind.

82. In reviewing our work over the past 40 years and charting a course for the future, we need to address the fundamental problem of man's inhumanity to man, which has many facets and manifests itself in various forms.

83. We cannot speak of a better world without reference to the terrible sufferings of the non-white majority in South Africa. We should not speak of noble thoughts that enrich our society and yet ignore the strangulation of the quest for survival, equality and justice in the country of their birth. It is universally recognized that the system of *apartheid* constitutes a threat to southern Africa and to international peace and security. Thus, it is a sad reflection on the world community, and in particular on the Security Council, that this abhorrent system continues to exist more than 30 years after it was first brought to the attention of the United Nations. It is regrettable that the measures which would hasten the demise of *apartheid* are still not wholeheartedly embraced by those States which are in the best position to make such measures effective. While the action recently undertaken by some States against South Africa is a step in the right direction, more urgent steps commensurate with the gravity of the situation need to be adopted.

84. In 1977, the Security Council unanimously imposed a mandatory arms embargo on South Africa. However, it is to be regretted that the reports of the arms embargo Committee appointed by this very Council indicate that that embargo has not been fully observed by some States whose special privileges impose on them a concomitant obligation to be at the forefront of efforts to maintain international peace and security.

85. The continued existence of *apartheid* and the related issue of South Africa's illegal occupation of Namibia in defiance of Security Council resolutions suggest that it is with restraint that we should celebrate this anniversary. Trinidad and Tobago therefore urges that effective steps be taken before the situation in southern Africa escalates completely out of control, with the attendant dangers to the stability of the region and, indeed, of the world.

86. Contemporary international relations are beset by a growing number of conflicts, all of which have the potential to escalate into international crises. This is evidenced not only in southern Africa but in such areas as the Middle East, South-East Asia and Central America.

87. Some disputes require solutions at the international level, but where possible, conflicts should be resolved at the regional level. The situation in Central America, for example, has shown itself to be conducive to a regional solution through the initiatives of the Contadora Group. We applaud the recent creation of the Support Group, composed of Argentina, Brazil, Peru and Uruguay, to lend assistance to the Contadora process. We note that talks are to be resumed next month, and express the hope that they will be productive and conclusive and will not be impeded by factors likely to frustrate the search for durable peace and security in the region.

88. It has been established that many conflicts are caused by socio-economic problems and that there can be no real

peace without global economic security. What is required, therefore, is a concerted collective effort on the part of all States and international institutions to assist economic recovery, particularly in developing countries. It is, however, with some despair and anxiety that my delegation observes the current retreat from multilateralism and the absence of democratization of the international economic system. The international financial institutions must be responsive to the justifiable calls for change in their policies and prescriptions, and thus avoid the large-scale social and political disruptions which would inevitably threaten international peace and security. The world has become more interdependent and democratic collaboration between the developed and the developing parts of the world has become a *sine qua non* of economic progress.

89. The unfavourable state of contemporary international relations contributes in part to the inability of the United Nations to perform its role adequately and underlines the difficulties with which it is confronted. The United Nations and the Security Council have been constrained by numerous obstacles: non-respect for and non-implementation of decisions and resolutions; the increasing unilateral use of force to resolve issues or to serve narrow self-interest, in contravention of the principles of the Charter; and the unwillingness of individual States with differing ideologies to take collective action.

90. Despite these constraints, the United Nations system has proved itself a dynamic one, capable of evolving and of meeting, to some extent, the demands of an era and a membership radically different from those of 40 years ago. However, if the United Nations is to play an enhanced role in the quest for a better world and if the Security Council is to carry out more effectively its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, a number of measures will have to be adopted. In this regard, we support whole-heartedly the recommendations pertaining to the Security Council contained in the Secretary-General's reports on the work of the Organization, especially those issued in September 1982[3] and September 1985. But for those measures to become effective, a change of attitude on the part of Member States will be required. When we consider all that has been contemplated and acted upon by the Council over the last 40 years, we are persuaded to agree with the view expressed by the Secretary-General that the Council

> "often suffers from a reluctance to pre-empt, or even to foresee, dangerous situations and to use the powers of the Council at a stage when problems might be more susceptible of treatment".[2]

It should therefore be resolved at this special commemorative meeting to address not only conflict but the causes of conflict, in order to rid the world of war and establish an everlasting peace.

91. Trinidad and Tobago is a small nation that can threaten no one, and for that matter could hardly resist the least sophisticated attack by the powerful. Our approach to our responsibilities as a member of the Council is to contribute to an atmosphere of international trust. We believe that confidence-building measures which reduce areas of tension and encourage good-neighbourliness among States at both the regional and the international levels are required to improve the general climate of international relations. The Council should always seek to promote mutual understanding and the confidence that no State would wish to dominate another or to resort to violence as a means of resolving disputes. Is it too much to hope that if the Council can assist in resolving outstanding conflicts of a relatively minor nature there will emerge an ever-growing confidence that even the super-Powers can come to regard themselves as rivals, perhaps, but certainly not as adversaries?

92. In this respect, we welcome the proposed summit meeting in November of this year between the leaders of two of the permanent members of the Council. We hope that those talks will foster a better working relationship between the two countries and will promote greater co-operation and understanding. That would improve considerably the general climate of international relations and facilitate the work of the Council and of the United Nations as a whole.

93. The Charter has vested certain States with the right of veto, but my delegation believes that the veto should not be used contrary to the principles embodied in the Charter. The greater the rights accorded to States under the Charter, the greater should be their obligations. We believe that serious thought should be given to identifying non-procedural issues on which the use of the veto could be suspended or limited. This would establish a momentum towards enhancing the effectiveness of the Council.

94. The Secretary-General must be allowed an adequate measure of flexibility, within the limits of the Charter, in carrying out his preventive role when crises or potential crises threaten international peace and security. It is imperative that in such circumstances he be given the political and tangible support of all the parties concerned.

95. The record of peace-keeping operations is undoubtedly one of which the United Nations and the Security Council can be proud. However, this mechanism needs to be strengthened and improved. This is one of the key areas in which the consensus of the super-Powers and the co-operation of the contending parties are required.

96. The Security Council should convene more frequently high-level meetings, as envisaged in the Charter. These should review the efforts to facilitate the resolution of current or potential disputes and analyse the prevailing international environment. This would serve to encourage exchanges of views and help to overcome the misconceptions and distrust which so often lead to stalemate and conflict.

97. It is alarming that at a time when global dangers and challenges require maximum international co-operation we find the multilateral approach under the greatest threat. The perception of shared mutual interests and the need for

collective responsibility and consensus are being replaced by the promotion of narrow self-interest, by dogmatism, by the rising tide of ideological crusades and, increasingly, by recourse to coercion. This trend must be reversed if we are to avoid global catastrophe.

98. The United Nations is a centre-piece of international co-operation, providing, as it does, the only framework within which all States can seek to protect and to pursue their interests by dialogue and persuasion. It will be as effective as its Members allow it to be. It would be unfair to lay at the door of the United Nations the blame for all the current world crises. Some of them are caused by deep-seated political realities, attitudes and perceptions.

99. The fond hope of Trinidad and Tobago—and we do not think it Utopian—is to help in some measure to create in the Council the mucilage of goodwill that will bind members together in a spirit of trusting fraternity, thereby rendering unnecessary the search for security by means of military superiority that is as elusive as it is debilitating.

100. We therefore call upon Member States—the powerful and the vulnerable, the rich and the poor—to rededicate themselves to the principles of the Charter and to remember that international relations are about ordinary human beings. We must all strive to avoid confrontation and conflicts; we must place greater store on goodwill, trust and the benefits of dialogue and co-operation; we must accept that there are diverse ways of perceiving and attaining our respective national goals; we must recognize that peace is not merely the absence of war but also the satisfaction of basic human needs and rights and the elimination of hunger, poverty, disease, despair and injustice. If we do, then international peace and security will not be under constant threat. Then we will not live in fear of tomorrow, and this will indeed be a better world.

101. In thanking you, Mr. President, I wish to express the confidence that if we aspire together, together we will achieve.

102. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Thailand, Air Chief Marshal, Mr. Siddhi Savetsila. I call upon him.

103. Mr. SAVETSILA (Thailand): Mr. President, on behalf of the delegation of Thailand, I wish to express our pleasure at seeing you presiding over this historic meeting of the Security Council. Your presidency is a fitting testimony of the trust and confidence that the members of the Council have in you. Furthermore, Thailand and the United Kingdom are bound by close ties of friendship and cordial relations going back many centuries. We both have the long-established institution of monarchy, which is cherished by the people. Trade and cultural links have further consolidated the relationship between our two countries, and the Thai people have high esteem for your country. Permit me, therefore, to associate myself with your other colleagues in extending to you warmest congratulations on your assumption of the presidency of this august body. My delegation is convinced that under your leadership the commemorative meeting of the Security Council will proceed smoothly, in an atmosphere of good understanding, to a successful conclusion.

104. I also wish to pay a sincere tribute to Sir John Thomson, for the capable, dignified and efficient manner in which he has performed the duties of President of the Council during the past three weeks. His personal and professional qualities have earned him and his country the deep respect and admiration of my delegation.

105. It is also a pleasure for me to convey my delegation's profound appreciation to Mr. Oleg Troyanovsky, representative of the Soviet Union, who was the Council's President in August.

106. It is with shock and sadness that I have learned of the tragic natural calamity which has beset Mexico in the past two weeks. On behalf of the Royal Thai Government, the Thai people and on my own behalf, I wish to convey through you, Mr. President, to the Mexican Government and people our profound condolences and sympathy.

107. The presence of 15 Ministers and representatives at this historic gathering is in itself indicative of the importance we attach to the work of the Security Council and of the United Nations as a whole. It provides a solemn occasion for us to review, reflect on and reappraise the past, present and future of the Organization, particularly the role of this major organ of the United Nations, the Security Council.

108. We already have before us an excellent report of the Secretary-General on the work of the Organization. Here I should like to say how fortunate we are in having such a highly dedicated and capable Secretary-General. Although his origin is in the third world, he is a worldly man, with wide knowledge and experience and a vision that encompasses global interests and dimensions. His report, for which my delegation wishes to thank him warmly, reflects his strong commitment to the betterment of the Organization and his genuine concern for its future role. Despite the oft-repeated criticisms of the Security Council, my delegation agrees with the Secretary-General's assessment that "the Security Council has played an essential and often central role in providing stability and limiting conflict"[2] and that "there are ways in which the Council could improve its capacity along the lines on which it has been working for many years".[2]

109. We gather here on this occasion to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations. An anniversary is usually a time for rejoicing as well as a time for pondering. We rejoice today that the world has survived for the past four decades without becoming embroiled in another world war, which, to everyone's knowledge, would mean the extinction of human civilization as we know it. Yet as we survey the headlines of every day's newspapers or take a look at the issues which have been brought to the Security Council, we cannot forget that peace is still not a normal state of affairs around the globe. So this time of rejoicing must also be a

time for pondering, as we move into the fifth decade of the United Nations.

110. We are today appraising whether the United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, can maintain peace and security in order for it, in the words of the founding fathers, "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war". As we survey the globe, we see wars and threats of war everywhere. In some areas, wars have not yet broken out because military alliances have served to uphold a precarious state of no war, no peace. In this situation of insecurity worldwide, what can the Security Council do to fulfil its role, as mandated in the Charter, to be the international organ with the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security?

111. First, the members of the Security Council must go back to the Charter of the United Nations, which provides the legal basis as well as the guidelines for the role of the Council. The Charter proclaims that the initial means to maintain international peace and security is the pacific settlement of disputes. The Security Council is enjoined to call upon the parties to seek first to settle their disputes by peaceful means before bringing matters to the Council for consideration, in accordance with Article 33, paragraph 1. Therefore, the Council should adopt as a normal practice the requirement that no disputes could be brought before it until it has determined that the parties to the disputes have seriously resorted to various means of pacific settlement. The Council should not rush to sit in judgement on a particular issue until it has satisfied itself that other peaceful avenues have been tried unsuccessfully by the parties concerned. For the Council to yield automatically to any request of any Member State to convene a meeting would be to squander away its moral authority and to risk being used as a forum for mere propaganda and polemics. If the Council is to reassert its authority as the supreme arbiter of international disputes, it must as a first step judiciously screen them in the light of available evidence.

112. The second step which the Security Council could take to enhance its ability to maintain international peace and security is provided in Article 34 of the Charter, which authorizes the Council to investigate any dispute, or any situation which might lead to international friction or give rise to a dispute. At present there is no instrument which the Council could use to perform the aforementioned function on a regular basis. Perhaps this can be remedied by an enlargement of the Secretariat staff servicing the Council. But perhaps an effective solution may be to encourage and authorize the Secretary-General to gather information by all means which would better enable him to exercise his authority under Article 99 of the Charter to bring to the attention of the Council any matter which, in his opinion, may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security. The role of the Secretary-General in the Council should not be confined to an advisory or monitoring function. He should be given the authority to become the "eyes and ears" of the Council and regularly make available to the Council his information pertaining to developments which may threaten international peace and stability. Furthermore, representatives of the Secretary-General in their fact-finding missions could by this process carry the added prestige and authority of the Council, thereby facilitating the performance of their duties. In this way, the stature of the Secretariat could be enhanced, while at the same time the capability of the Council to fulfil its tasks under Article 34 of the Charter could be increased.

113. The third step which the Security Council could take to ensure that its role in maintaining international peace and security is not ignored or considered marginal is to encourage genuine negotiations between parties to a situation or dispute once the matter has been brought before the Council. The United Nations, and in particular the Security Council, have been called "a glass house", or some even say, "a goldfish bowl", with worldwide spectators. If the Council is to ensure that it is perceived not mainly as a theatre for public diplomacy but rather as a forum where serious negotiations can lead to substantive results, then it should minimize the time spent in listening to prepared speeches by countries not directly involved in the dispute. Instead, more time should be given to the parties to the dispute to negotiate between themselves under the auspices of the President of the Council or with the assistance of the Secretary-General, or of a conciliation committee or selected Council members, which could be created under Article 29 of the Charter. The focus as always should be on the pacific settlement of disputes, not merely the issuance of another resolution, which, in the absence of such settlement, tends to be ignored as soon as adopted, thereby undermining in a cumulative manner the prestige and authority of the Council.

114. My country's principal concern on this occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations is to see the Organization, and in particular the Security Council, assume once again its rightful place as the organization responsible for maintaining international peace and security. As a small country, Thailand attaches great importance to the United Nations as the embodiment of our hope for a world free of war and tyranny. We see it and this organ, the Security Council, as the last defender of the rights of small countries to exist with freedom and dignity in the international community. We hope to make our small contribution in defence of those rights. That is why we sought a seat on this body. My country believes, as the late Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld did, that "You have not done enough, you have never done enough, so long as it is still possible that you have something to contribute". My country, therefore, appeals to fellow members of the Security Council, and of the United Nations, to contribute what each can to the realization of the purpose expressed in the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations: "to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war, which twice in our lifetime has brought untold sorrow to mankind".

115. We are all living in one world, irrespective of any differences that may exist in our political, economic or social systems. The state of the world cannot but reflect the current human condition. Thus, the promotion of human advancement should be our most cherished goal. When

the larger part of humanity is living in abject poverty, the real challenge is to assess the problems from that perspective. Regardless of nationality, people who have to endure immense suffering share in common the aspirations and ideals which are universal and which are enshrined in the Charter. Their world is an interdependent world, by the affinity of their yearnings and hopes. Perhaps that is the true significance of interdependence—an interdependence that will benefit the common people. Thus, "common" in this sense signifies not only membership of the world community at its most basic and fundamental level, but also the commonality of human ideals and aspiration.

116. The PRESIDENT: I call now on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Peru, Mr. Allan Wagner Tizón.

117. Mr. WAGNER TIZÓN (Peru) (*interpretation from Spanish*): I wish to say how pleased my country is to see you, Sir, the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom, presiding over this commemorative meeting of the Security Council as the United Nations celebrates its fortieth anniversary. I am sure that under your wise leadership, the Ministers taking part in the meeting will prove able to transform this solemn commemoration into a well-articulated effort of collective reflection, in order to carry out the essential renewal of this central mechanism for peace and security.

118. A great deal has been said—and it is to be expected that much more will be said in the next few days—about the idealistic inspiration of the authors of the Charter of the United Nations and about the supranational implications inherent in their basic postulates and normative principles.

119. I disagree with that view. All the international institutions that emerged from the Second Word War, in the political and the economic spheres, were imbued from the outset with the scepticism and bitterness that are inevitably born of historical experiences as devastating as wars. The statesmen of 1945, although they did promote guidelines of civilized conduct for the international community by defining the structure of the Organization, injected it with a dose of hard realism based on their perception of the need for the five victorious Powers to have a tutelary role, and the corollary need to keep the weaker countries in a state of indefinite subordination. The United Nations therefore is the result of the interaction of profound motivations, both idealistic and pragmatic—motivations that are not always clear and not always readily compatible.

120. The United Nations has not replaced—indeed, it was never conceived of as a replacement for—the system of nation-States. Neither was it intended to be a mere forum for good will or harmless rhetoric. Therefore, there can be no sustained examination of the scope and limitations of the United Nations and of its principal organ unless that evaluation takes place within the dynamics of international life.

121. We are all aware of the principal reasons for the collapse of the original concept of international political co-operation: on the one hand, the ideological exacerbation of the debate between the Powers and, on the other, the lack of parallel progress in disarmament and in the institutionalization of collective security—the two fundamental pillars of the thorough fulfilment of the task assigned to the Security Council by the Charter. Of course, the concept of collective security is very different from the balance of terror in which we now live. The challenge facing us is this: we must in the meantime devise machinery that will make possible the establishment of collective security within secure and permanent terms of reference.

122. In order to breathe new life into the Security Council there would first have to be a renewed assertion of the general concept of international authority, as has been pointed out in his latest report on the work of the Organization by the Secretary-General—whose presence and work in the Organization are a source of pride for my country. The existing international instruments would perhaps suffice if there were a genuine political will to co-operate, particularly on the part of the five permanent members of the Council; but such political will proves to be elusive because of historical circumstances that are quite obvious and that lead us to the only possible collective consensus: the discouragement we now feel.

123. We can see, therefore, on the one hand, that the principal organs of the United Nations are gravely bogged down, as illustrated by the rhetorical inflation of the General Assembly and the compulsive inhibition—which is not the same thing as prudence—with which the Security Council treats international political problems. That is not only the institutional reflection of the crises which have occurred in the past four decades, but also the effect of the gradual and systematic removal of substantive problems from the sphere of action of the United Nations.

124. As we see it, this situation only proves, in the political sphere, the anachronistic nature of the international structure created by the generation of the great war, which is also becoming increasingly evident in the economic and financial field. That order, which sought the establishment of a democratic system of collective security based on a vague consensus on norms of international law, was defective from the start, because of the inequality created by the veto and the privileged position given to the Powers, to the detriment of the possibility of action by the small and medium-sized countries. We must be quite clear about that. I am not saying that the legal subordination of the medium-sized and small countries is the cause of all the problems facing the Organization; but we must remember that in this body, which bears the primary responsibility for the maintenance of peace and security, the commitment entered into by the great Powers was to promote peace and security in the service of the international community and not in accordance with whatever their own political or security ideas might be. Therefore, the United Nations in 1985 cannot exist simply as a gigantic, laborious monument, lacking all real political will; it must assume a role consonant with the universality of the new international reality and its problems in all spheres of global responsibility, because all those problems now have the same political roots.

125. The new political role that we are calling for must involve recognition of the sovereign and constructive role that properly belongs to the countries of what is termed the developing world. To make that great qualitative leap would mean accepting a logical premise: that the interdependent nature of today's world is no mere hypothesis, but a realistic statement of fact, and that in turn would be an essential first step in introducing into the United Nations bodies the effectiveness that they lack. In other words, the Security Council will not be able to function as the body responsible for the maintenance of peace and security unless steps are taken to ensure that, in the way it handles the matters before it and in its future voting practice, there is an effective effort to seek agreement and negotiation, discarding any notion of patronage, which is not in keeping with a modern concept of the world's immediate future.

126. I therefore believe that the basic peace-keeping function assigned to the Council by the Charter demands more than a change in political will by the major Powers which would guarantee parallel progress in disarmament and collective security. It demands much more: it requires an indispensable consensus that the problems of backwardness are a decisive factor in bringing about recurring disturbances in the international political atmosphere, and that underdevelopment, the product of injustice, is the fundamental reason for the precarious nature of peace in the postwar of today.

127. Accordingly, there can be neither a diagnosis of our problems nor progress towards significant political agreement unless the countries that have been left outside so far can be given a central role—that is, if they do not participate in the real negotiations on the fundamental political problems and if those countries do not make use of that constructive function within the Council, overcoming the temptation to adopt a rhetorical or repetitive approach.

128. Peru unreservedly supports the suggestions made by the delegations present and the proposals of the Secretary-General that, within its present framework, the Security Council not only consider but also resolve some of the distressing and almost permanent problems of today's world. But the Council's exclusive preoccupation with trouble spots that periodically erupt with loss of life and material damage, from the Persian Gulf, South Africa, Afghanistan, Central America and the Middle East to other latitudes, is not enough to neutralize a sort of gangrene gnawing away at the international system.

129. We believe that, as tangible evidence of a constructive inspiration capable of giving a new dimension to the concept of peace and security in the light of the dangerous features of the present situation, the first step should be to allow the Secretary-General to act in those areas or those cases that do not concern matters of global strategy. From there on, the path would continue to be risky, but it would lead to the future and would not be a route back to the formalization of international anarchy.

130. On the other hand, it is unacceptable that in the few cases over the past few years in which the Council has adopted resolutions on items that truly have a bearing on the maintenance of international peace and security, those resolutions have not been implemented. Therefore, Peru believes that the time has come to replace lamentations with the action required by the Charter and, given the disregard for the Council's resolutions on Namibia and other matters, to take the maximum enforcement measures under Chapter VII to put an end to the illegal occupation of Namibia, which is repulsive to our conscience as free men, thus restoring to some extent the credibility of the highest international body.

131. Throughout history, mankind's associations have been imperfect, as was inevitable, but the present century, which has produced catastrophes of the magnitude of the wars of 1914 and 1939, has also made notable attempts at bringing peoples together. The United Nations is both the best of them and the one with most room for improvement. But the current paralysis of effective channels for international co-operation, especially the breach opened up between the countries of the North and the South, endangers not only the survival of the United Nations but the very concept of multilateralism, which is as desirable as it is elusive.

132. Today we face a threat of greater dimensions, when certain international institutions are turning themselves into privileged instruments of the Powers, to the detriment of the vital interests of the weaker countries, jeopardizing their very viability, as is seen so with such dramatic and striking eloquence in the policies of the International Monetary Fund and as is found in the anachronistic institution of the veto in the Security Council. When that occurs, we see taking shape before us an international structure wholly at odds with the concept of equality, foreshadowing the emergence of supranational policies of an oppressive nature.

133. Notwithstanding the difficult circumstances confronting my country, my Government has placed a wager on life. And we have placed another wager, with the unswervering faith of our Andean nation and our firm commitment to act, on a new genuinely democratic international order in which peace will be the consequences of our civilized quest for agreement and the development of all countries will be the result not of handouts, which generate dependence, but of genuine justice, properly distributing the fruit of the effort of our peoples. In this spirit, we wish the Security Council would rise above its role of merely containing existing conflicts, that it would be something more than a solemn forum for discussing matters of limited scope. We must discard the idea that the Council, instead of being a framework for resolving grave conflicts, is instead an instrument in aggravating them.

134. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations, Mr. Blaise Rabetafika.

135. Mr. RABETAFIKA (Madagascar) (*interpretation from French*): It is my honour and privilege today to express to you, Sir, the singular satisfaction of my Govern-

ment at seeing you presiding over this historic meeting of the Security Council in commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Mr. Jean Bemananjara, Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Democratic Republic of Madagascar, who is prevented from being present because of compelling and unforeseen commitments, has instructed me to convey to you his sincere regrets that he is unable to be here today and to extend his best wishes for the success of these deliberations.

136. Since the beginning of the year there have been intensive consultations among members of the Council in order to enable us to observe this anniversary appropriately and solemnly, bearing in mind our membership of the United Nations and the particular responsibilities are ours. Quite rightly, therefore, our choice fell on the theme "United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security".

137. One might be tempted to deal with the subject selectively or in a dichotomous fashion by treating in succession what we expect of the United Nations and the role of the Security Council in meeting the needs and aspirations of the peoples. However, this would not be in keeping with the spirit that prevailed at the drafting of the Preamble of the Charter of the United Nations, and we remain convinced that international peace and security must be seen in a global context, which necessarily entails the prevention of war, the safeguarding of the fundamental rights of man and of peoples, equality in the laws of nations, maintenance of justice, respect for international obligations and promotion of the economic and social progress of all peoples. Forty years ago, those were the conditions for a better world, and they have lost none of their relevance today in so far as they have not yet been fulfilled.

138. It is thus that the risk of a generalized war will not be eliminated as long as confrontation and distrust prevail, as long as the conventional and nuclear arms race, which is now being extended to all environments, is not halted, and as long as conflicts and tensions persist with their always unforeseeable consequences.

139. Similarly, the notion of security—inseparable in our view from that of economic security—will not be fully realized unless we are ready to commit our collective responsibility and unless the permanent members of the Council, in the exercise of their special privileges and duties under the Charter, agree to seek among themselves as much common ground as possible.

140. Furthermore, it would seem desirable to us that all Member States, whose co-operation is so necessary, should share the same concept of their obligations under the terms of the Charter and agree to be guided in their relations by the principles of respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of States, non-intervention, mutual respect, mutual advantage, non-use of force or the threat of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

141. The points I have just made sometimes lend themselves to differing interpretations but they have never been contradicted, and, in the spirit of consensus which should always prevail amongst us, they can be considered as the central pillar of all our actions and decisions.

142. The part of the Secretary-General's report on the work of the Organization relating to the Security Council has already been the subject of a thoroughgoing exchange of views among members of the Council. We are particularly grateful to him for having reminded us of such important points as the Council's role in the regulation of armaments; the reasons which prompted us to think of a collective system of international peace and security; the prevention, control and reduction of conflicts; the need for unanimity and a spirit of co-operative consultation in the Council; and the readiness of Member States to turn to the Council for action and to respect and implement its decisions.

143. It is clear that if we succeed in putting into practice the suggestions of the Secretary-General and pursue and develop the thoughts he has been good enough to share with us, we will in that way already have contributed to the advent of a better world. The international community has quite rightly identified our shortcomings and weaknesses and expects that we, ourselves, will strengthen our capacity to take decisions and act, inasmuch as our role is already defined in the Charter.

144. In this regard, the major obstacle which appears to be paralysing the Council in the exercise of its functions is our inability to find a broad consensus at the right time on the most important problems. Bilateral disputes and divergent interests have a tendency to prevail over our obligations to the international community, and that has led to unfortunate consequences for the authority and the integrity of the Council and has undermined the confidence Member States have placed in us.

145. It could hardly be otherwise, when we have set aside such important problems as Namibia, *apartheid*, Palestine, the Middle East and Cyprus, for which we are still seeking solutions, not to mention those problems that have been deliberately disregarded, either because the interested parties have not deemed it useful to seize us of these matters or else because, guided by special and fleeting interests, we have not felt ready to examine them, still less to propose any solutions.

146. We must also consider ways and means to strengthen the respective preventive roles of the Security Council and the Secretary-General. That, as the Secretary-General has just reminded us, would entail setting up a rapid-alert system that could help to prevent dangerous crises, making available on a permanent and systematic basis of data on the development of crises and on the risks of potential disputes, a power to be entrusted to the Council or to the Secretary-General to take initiatives, even in the absence of formal notification of a matter, the coordination or, even better, the linking of the Council's efforts with those of regional, international and sub-regional organs, and the search for new conciliation procedures that would make this system more compelling to the parties involved.

147. However, our ability to take effective and systematic action would be improved only if we make use of all the resources offered by the Charter, whether in Chapter VI, Chapter VII or Chapter VIII. Thus, we would be assured that any solutions and settlements we might propose would be in keeping with the purposes and principles of the Charter and would not result in any policy of diktat.

148. Our emphasis on relying constantly and in all circumstances upon the provisions of the Charter testifies to our devotion to the lofty ideals that inspired the founders of the Organization and to our faith in the Council's ability to maintain international peace and security. For those of us who possess neither deterrent force nor adequate military potential, we can only rely upon the role of the Council in the peaceful and negotiated settlement of disputes. However, our wishes and our determination, however justified and pertinent they may be, cannot by themselves persuade the Council to discharge its responsibilities more effectively or bring us closer to the goals of the Charter or enforce respect for them.

149. In the end, international security means the security of all with the support of all—in particular, the permanent members of the Council—in order that peace can be realized by all nations and peoples. Then, and only then, can we speak of a better world, one finally free from the forces of all forms of domination and exploitation, fear and injustice.

150. The PRESIDENT: I now call upon the Minister of State for Commerce of India, Mr. Khurshed Alam Khan.

151. Mr. Alan KHAN (India): May I begin by saying how pleased we are to see you, Mr. President, in the Chair. The relations between our two countries are marked by the close bonds of friendship and multifaceted co-operation against the background of an old historical association. We are fellow members of the Commonwealth. Under your able guidance, we look forward to fruitful deliberations at this commemorative meeting.

152. It is a special privilege to be here in the company of several distinguished Ministers at this unique gathering to mark the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Our presence on this historic occasion is testimony to our abiding faith in the purposes and principles of the Charter of the United Nations and to our collective commitment to international peace and co-operation. We meet here today to focus attention on a subject of utmost importance, namely, the United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security. Our discussions should provide us an opportunity to take stock of the performance of the United Nations over the past four decades and to determine ways and means of strengthening the effectiveness of the Security Council in fulfilling its primary role of maintaining international peace and security.

153. In a world which is characterized by suspicion, mistrust, discrimination and inequality, tension and conflict, in a world in which the nuclear peril poses a threat to our very survival, the United Nations has served as a beacon of hope. During the 40 years of its existence, the Organization has several achievements in varied fields to its credit. It has played a major role in the process of decolonization; it has contributed to socio-economic progress and created universal consciousness of the rights of human beings. It has been responsible for the progressive development and codification of international law. Although its achievements have fallen short of the expectations of the founding fathers, the United Nations still provides the best hope for mankind and a solid foundation to build upon. It has proved to be the most appropriate forum in which to deliberate upon the most important issues of the day and in which to seek solutions to pressing international problems of peace, security and global economic co-operation in our interdependent world. It would be difficult to imagine a world without the United Nations, in spite of all the cynicism and criticism which have been laid at its door.

154. In 1983, the late Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, in her address to the General Assembly,[4] declared that firm faith in the United Nations was central to the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries. At the recently concluded Conference of Foreign Ministers of Non-Aligned Countries held at Luanda earlier this month, Ministers from over 100 countries expressed their deep and abiding commitment to the United Nations, to preserving and strengthening the Organization and to making it fulfil more effectively the purposes and principles enshrined in the Charter.

155. Before I proceed to consider the special role assigned to the Security Council in the maintenance of international peace and security, I should like to express our deep gratitude to the Secretary-General for his very thought-provoking report for 1985 on the work of the Organization, as well as for his statement made earlier in this meeting. His analysis is penetrating and his recommendations pragmatic. Coming in the wake of our ongoing exercise of exchange of views aimed at strengthening the effectiveness of the Council inspired by his earlier reports, this could, we hope, pave the way for concrete, meaningful and realistic action in enhancing the Council's effectiveness and generally in revitalizing the United Nations as a whole.

156. Under the provisions of the Charter, the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security is vested in the Security Council. Although the Council has played a useful role and has acted as a safety net in several ways in preventing the outbreak of war, its weaknesses and shortcomings have prevented it from becoming the effective instrument envisaged in the Charter. In particular we feel that the Council suffers from want of a collegial spirit, which hampers consensus. It is the lack of the requisite political will among States—particularly among the more powerful and wealthy—to act as trustees of the interests of the weaker and poorer that is at the root of the inability of the Council to exert itself in the direction of achieving its basic objectives.

157. The special position which the permanent members of the Security Council enjoy under the Charter places

upon them added responsibilities and obligations which should transcend narrow national interests. We expect the permanent members to live up to the trust reposed in them and to fulfil their obligations under the Charter.

158. The international political and security climate, marked by a progressive escalation of the nuclear arms race, poses a grave threat to the survival of mankind. In the minds of the founding fathers, the primary purpose of the United Nations to maintain international peace and security was closely linked with progress in arms limitation and disarmament. In spite of the provisions of Article 26 of the Charter, which gives the Security Council a leading role in the establishment of a system for the regulation of armaments, it is unfortunate that the Security Council has not so far deemed it fit to address itself to this crucial issue. We urge Council members to give attention to this question and to call for effective measures to achieve disarmament and to eliminate the risk of nuclear war.

159. In this context I should like to recall that at the initiative of the Prime Minister of India, Mr. Rajiv Gandhi, a meeting of six heads of State or Government was convened at New Delhi in January 1985. The six leaders issued a joint declaration [*S/16921, annex*] which urged the nuclear-weapon States to halt all testing, production and deployment of nuclear weapons and their delivery systems and immediately follow this with substantial reductions in nuclear forces. This first step was to be followed by a continuing programme of arms reduction leading to general and complete disarmament, accompanied by measures to strengthen the United Nations system and to ensure an urgently-needed transfer of substantial resources from the arms race to social and economic development. Two specific steps identified by the six leaders were the early conclusion of a comprehensive test-ban treaty and the prevention of an arms race in outer space.

160. During our frank and stimulating discussions in the Security Council of the Secretary-General's report, several valuable ideas have been presented which, if implemented, could result in enhancing the special responsibility of the Council, acting on behalf of the international community in the collective maintenance of peace and security, and could bring it closer to the position prescribed for it in the Charter. I shall briefly touch upon some of these. We lay considerable emphasis on the Council's role in preventive diplomacy. Measures such as informal efforts on a regular basis to control crisis situations, the dispatch of fact-finding missions, and private meetings with parties concerned are worth considering.

161. It is our view that the responsibilities entrusted to the Secretary-General under Article 99 of the Charter should be fully explored, and the Secretary-General enabled to pursue quiet diplomacy and his role of good offices wherever appropriate and necessary. In this context, we emphasize the crucial importance of establishing relations of trust and co-operation between the Security Council and the Secretary-General, as envisaged in the Charter.

162. We welcome the peace-keeping activities of the Council and would recommend further use of measures under Chapters VI and VII of the Charter whenever conditions so warrant. Further, we would stress the importance of holding regular periodic meetings of the Council under Article 28, paragraph 2, of the Charter. We hope that our meeting at the level of Ministers will be followed by regular contacts at a high political level.

163. We welcome the three specific suggestions made by the Secretary-General in his latest report. We fully share his conviction that members of the Security Council, especially the permanent members, should give matters of international peace and security priority over bilateral differences. Council members should be willing to make deliberate concentrated efforts to solve one or two of the major problems which confront us. We have in mind the situation in South Africa, which is riven by the pernicious system of *apartheid*, the question of Namibia, and the situation in the Middle East, including in particular the question of Palestine. There are also other crisis situations and conflicts. Finally, we attach considerable importance, during this fortieth anniversary commemoration, to the renewed affirmation by Member States of Charter obligations, in particular those relating to the non-use of force and the peaceful settlement of disputes.

164. The membership of the United Nations has grown to 159 during the last 40 years; the Organization is approaching its goal of universality. We therefore believe that a corresponding increase in the membership of the Security Council to reflect more adequately the enhanced membership of the Organization is overdue. It would make the Council more representative of all interests and, hence, more effective in the discharge of its functions under the Charter. It would be opportune here to recall the proposal already placed before the United Nations by several non-aligned countries, including India, on the question of equitable representation on, and an increase in the number of non-permanent members of, the Council. We hope that this proposal will be given the attention it deserves.

165. We should like also to make an observation on our perceptions of the relative roles of the Security Council and the General Assembly in the maintenance of international peace and security. The Council undoubtedly has a special responsibility and special powers. Equally, the General Assembly, as the universal organ, has both moral and legislative authority to pronounce and make recommendations on all matters under the Charter. The Charter is intended to be an integral and organic whole, and the General Assembly and the Security Council are meant to work collaboratively in the cause of the promotion of peace and security. There is no room for any conflict of interest or for confrontation.

166. We are indeed privileged to be a member of the Security Council at this moment, when the United Nations is entering its fifth decade. During our current membership, which has coincided with our chairmanship of the Movement of Non-Aligned Countries, we have endea-

voured to work with others in the interests of promoting peace and stability. We are firm in our conviction that the scheme of the Charter is basically sound. What is needed is political will among States to make the United Nations exert itself in the direction of achieving its basic objectives. We hope that our deliberations today will give a renewed impetus to all Council members, especially the permanent members, to make the Security Council the effective instrument it was intended to be. An effective and responsive security Council would certainly contribute to the revitalization of the United Nations system as a whole.

167. The PRESIDENT: I call next on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Mr. Roland Dumas.

168. Mr. DUMAS (France) (*interpretation from French*): I shall limit my words to consideration of the role of the Security Council, as that is the item on our agenda.

169. This meeting is without precedent. There was, indeed, in 1970, a Security Council meeting at the ministerial level [*1555th meeting*], but that meeting—and incidentally, not all members were represented by their Minister—took place in private. For that reason it had no impact on international public opinion.

170. Today's meeting is a public one. We wanted it to be so, for while quiet diplomacy may have its virtues, and that is often useful, even necessary, it is not the natural role of the Council, which was designed to take public positions.

171. This is, in our view, even more necessary 40 years after the entry into force of the Charter of the United Nations, at a time when the speed of means of transmission and the impact of audiovisual means of communication make it essential for there to be a close link between international public opinion and the persons and organs responsible for diplomatic actions.

172. We must recognize, however, that, far from growing stronger, this link has actually weakened and that today there is a real gulf between the Council and world public opinion. The image and prestige of the Council have been harmed over the past few years, and this in turn has affected the Organization as a whole. In fact, the strength of the Organization depends to a large extent on the balance between the Security Council, which is more action-oriented, as intended by the Charter, by virtue of its composition and its rules of procedure, and the General Assembly, whose deliberative function is dominated by the principles of universality and equal voting rights. Any weakening of the Council endangers this balance and is therefore prejudicial to the effectiveness and credibility of the Organization, to the cost of all its Members.

173. At a time when the General Assembly is celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Organization on a grand scale in the presence of a great many heads of State or Government, the Security Council, the primary organ for the maintenance of international peace and security, could not appear to be found wanting and thus risk confirming the decline of its image on the international scene.

174. That is why France is particularly pleased that the Council should have decided to convene this commemorative meeting and to make its keynote the theme of the United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council for the maintenance of international peace and security.

175. I see this as an opportunity for all the members of the Council to set forth their views on what the Council can and should do the better to carry out its responsibilities. Reinvigorating the Council will, to my mind, be the best way of celebrating the fortieth anniversary of the Organization. Maintaining international peace and security is—need I repeat it—the first purpose of the United Nations, and the primary responsibility in this regard lies with the Security Council.

176. I shall not dwell on the manifestations and causes of the weaknesses of the Organization in the sphere of the maintenance of peace. They have been stated many times, particularly by the Secretary-General, who, since his first annual report, has developed an analysis that by and large matches our own.

177. Our organization is not a super-State or a sort of world government. It is a body of sovereign States that includes almost all the States of the world, and thus it comes close to achieving the goal of universality which is implicit in the Charter. It therefore necessarily reflects the ideological, political, economic and social differences that exist in the world today. It is therefore inevitable that it should know difficulty and even failures. But what is essential, to our mind, is that it should remain, in the terms of the Charter, a centre for harmonizing the actions of nations in the attainment of common ends. This presupposes in particular that it deal with the main problems affecting international peace and security. We are, however, bound to observe that certain such problems are either not discussed or dealt with at the United Nations or give rise to resolutions that remain dead letters. Too often the Organization and the Security Council thus appear to be mere sounding boards, or even propaganda forums. Disagreement among certain of its most important Members is certainly one of the reasons for this phenomenon, but it is not the only one.

178. The blurring of the distinction between the respective functions of the General Assembly and the Security Council has also contributed to this. One sees a growing tendency to transform debates of the Council—which should be action-oriented and should concern, above all, the members of the Council and the main parties to a dispute or conflict—into a substitute for a General Assembly debate, providing all the Member States with an opportunity to make known their views on a given situation.

179. Another cause lies in the weakening of the sense of responsibility of every Member State towards the Organization, which is reflected both in the proliferation or resolutions that go unapplied and the excessive use of group-to-group negotiation.

180. I believe that around this table there is a consensus that something should be done about this state of affairs. But what?

181. Certainly, institutional reforms are not the path to take. Far from improving the functioning of the Organization, they would weaken its potential effectiveness and introduce divisive subjects, whereas what we should be seeking is common ground.

182. The Charter has laid down a framework that should enable the Organization to fulfil its role in the maintenance of peace: the Security Council has been assigned primary responsibility in this domain. The Council remains, through its composition and its operating rules, the organ best suited for the exercise of this responsibility, but the Secretary-General undeniably has a role of his own to play under Articles 98 and 99 of the Charter. We mentioned this only recently. The General Assembly too can and should make its contribution, but in a different way, in keeping with its nature and the functions assigned to it by the Charter.

183. The tools are there; the means exist. What is lacking is the political will, the determination to use to the full the resources of the Organization. Adjustments that affect current functioning may be useful, but they are secondary and not the essential.

184. In this respect, the permanent members have a special responsibility and France, for its part, is fully aware of this. Several times in the recent past, it has demonstrated its commitment to the Security Council by taking the initiative of referring to it important questions on which it felt the Council should decide and act. Similarly, France has supported initiatives that have seemed likely to contribute to maintaining international peace and security, regardless of their origin. We will continue to work to improve relations among all members of the Council, particularly the permanent members.

185. France therefore can only welcome the first suggestion made by the Secretary-General in his latest annual report, and which he repeated here today, which invites members of the Council "to give matters of international peace and security priority over bilateral differences."[2]

186. It is particularly important to extricate the Council from the logic of confrontation in which it has been locked by the East-West dialectic. Without waiting for improvement in the relations between its principal protagonists which is obviously to be desired, the members of the Council who pursue a genuine policy of non-alignment can make a vital contribution.

187. In order to regain its prestige, the Security Council must exercise its responsibilities to the full and refuse to allow itself to become bogged down in ritual debates and prolonged consultations behind closed doors. It should take a public stand on the major problems which affect international peace and security, look for ways and means to resolve them and cease to be a place where one comes only to complain, so that it might become once again a body for decision and action.

188. To demonstrate this determination, we believe, as the Secretary-General has also suggested, that the Council should make a deliberate and concerted effort to solve one or two of the major issues before it, chosen from among those that are outside the East-West dialectic which I mentioned a moment ago. This undertaking does not seem to be beyond the reach of the Council, provided that its members have the will to act. This is the case with France.

189. It is also important that the Secretary-General, for his part—and I am sure he will permit me to say this, because of my friendship for him—should assume in full the role conferred on him under the Charter. He will really be able to do this only if he feels he has the backing of the members of the Council, with whom he is required to act in close consultation and to maintain trustful relations. France, for its part, is ready to give its support to the Secretary-General whenever it can when he is acting, of course, in pursuance of the mandates entrusted to him by the Council or takes, in the framework of his functions, useful initiatives for the maintenance of peace. The concept the present Secretary-General has of his functions, as he has explained on numerous occasions and as is evident from the actions that he has undertaken to facilitate the solution of certain international disputes and conflicts, seems to us to be the best. As the Secretary-General has himself has emphasized, the confidence that Member States place in him should not, however, mean that they can divest themselves of their own responsibilities, as happens sometimes, not to say too often.

190. This reminder is a timely one. The Organization, and the Security Council in particular, cannot succeed in the tasks conferred on them by the Charter unless the Member States adopt a realistic and responsible attitude, unless they are ready, especially within the Council, to allow a sense of responsibility to prevail over respect for solidarities or a narrow concept of national interests.

191. Let us not hide behind the overly comfortable myth of a bureaucratic organization endowed with its own will, outside the control of its Member States. It is, in the final analysis, on the collective will of Member States that the success or failure of the Organization depends. To put the Organization back on the road to effectiveness, which I believe is what it needs, let us assume fully the responsibilities we accepted—some of us, 40 years ago—by becoming Members of the United Nations. France, for its part, is ready and determined.

192. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Deputy Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs of Egypt, Mr. Ahmed Esmat Abdel Meguid.

193. Mr. ABDEL MEGUID (Egypt) (*interpretation from Arabic*): I wish at the outset to express the appreciation of the Egyptian delegation for the constructive initiative of calling for the convening of this meeting of the Security

Council at the ministerial level on the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations. Egypt, together with all other Council members, supported this valuable initiative, since it provides a unique opportunity to review the experience of the past four decades of the Organization's existence and to analyse its performance with its positive and negative aspects.

194. Sir, I am honoured to speak today under your presidency, as Minister of State for Foreign Affairs of the United Kingdom. Egypt has very close ties with your country, in addition to the personal ties that we have between us, in which I take great pride.

195. I am honoured to speak today on behalf of Egypt on this historic occasion. I highly cherish the memories of Egypt's role in the drafting of the Charter of the United Nations, its signing of the Charter as a founding Member, as well as its participation in the work of the Security Council on several occasions since the inception of the Organization. I also recall Egypt's continued contribution to all the activities of the Organization and its affiliation with most of its regional and political groupings.

196. Egypt's enthusiasm for the Organization and its firm belief in the Charter, its purposes and principles, reflect an historical fact which has deep roots in the sentiments of the Egyptian people that go back several thousands of years before the existence of the Organization, namely, unshaken faith in peace and in the maintenance of peace. Since the time when the Egyptian citizen started to lay the foundations of his civilization, he has geared his efforts and thoughts to construction and has refrained from acts of destruction. A glance at the immortal monuments of Egypt—which are still an inexhaustible subject of study and research—confirms the fact that the Egyptian has always, since the dawn of history, sought to build and construct, to spread culture and civilization, and has always been guided by his values, principles and beliefs. He never wasted his efforts on inventing weapons of destruction or tools of havoc. This strong desire for peace is no doubt one of the major factors of the eternity of ancient Egyptian civilization and the failure of attempts to demolish it over the centuries.

197. Egypt's destiny has dictated that it always remain at the heart of events which take place in one of the world's most volatile regions, beset by conflicts and problems, and that it should assume its role on one of the major issues of peace which has existed since the establishment of the United Nations. Egypt's affiliation with Africa and the Arab World—which is a source of great pride—has enabled Egypt to play a distinctive role in the activities of the United Nations and to live a unique experience which witnessed the evolution of the Organization and its methods of tackling the major issues that have been brought to its attention since its inception.

198. Forty years may well be too short a period to allow for a fair judgement or a sound scientific analysis of the experience of the United Nations. Although this period has witnessed enormous scientific, technological and economic progress, when compared to the total accomplishments of mankind, the challenge facing our world today resides in the ability to attain corresponding achievements in human conduct with a view to spreading peace, security and equality throughout the world. I believe that succeeding generations will stand perplexed before a civilization which made such great material achievements in so short a span of time but failed to fulfil the aspirations of some peoples in liberation, freedom and the exercise of rights endorsed by the same international organization of which we are all proud to be a part.

199. The questions of Palestine, southern Africa and the vast economic disparities between the peoples of the world are all an enigma because of our failure to reach just solutions for them. We may be brought to account for this situation in view of the serious responsibility we shoulder as members of the Council, which is the main international organ entrusted with maintaining international peace and security. For these reasons, we should deliberate carefully on this delicate phase in the evolution of our contemporary world and carefully study the ideas and proposals offered by Member States from the rostrum of the General Assembly and during the meetings of the Security Council.

200. Two years ago, in his address to the General Assembly, President Hosni Mubarak put forward the idea of a review and appraisal of the international situation in all its aspects within the framework of the United Nations with a view to establishing a new international order in which justice, peace and prosperity would reign. Egypt had earlier called for the convening of a special session of the General Assembly to discuss the various fields of activity and performance of the United Nations as well as its responsibility in maintaining international peace and security. This call was supported by many Member States in view of its special importance.

201. As a result, Egypt heard with interest the points underlined by the President of the General Assembly in his opening statement at the current session regarding the necessity for convening a conference to review the Charter in order to eliminate the contradiction between its letter and its spirit, and what he said in relation to the application of Article 27 of the Charter, which, as Member States have come to realize, gives the permanent members of the Council a double veto—something which the authors of the Charter had never intended to grant.

202. In his latest report on the work of the Organization, the Secretary-General describes the world in which we live as one "of almost infinite promise which is also a world of potentially terminal danger". He describes the situation as an historic choice between a world abundant in promise and hope and one fraught with dangers and conflicts.

203. In the exercise of its historic choice, Egypt will never hesitate to support the enhancement of the effectiveness of the United Nations and to work for it strengthening as the guardian of peace and the forum of coexistence of nations and peoples. The principles and provisions of the Charter will remain for Egypt, as they are for many developing and recently independent countries, the guarantee for the safeguarding of their independence and sovereignty under the

umbrella of international legitimacy and the principles and purposes of the Charter.

204. The profound changes that have left their mark on the evolution of mankind during this short span of time will shape and affect the future of the United Nations. The need for the interdependence of nations may well be the most far-reaching of those changes, a requirement for their survival and a guarantee of their progress.

205. I had the opportunity when I was Representative of Egypt to follow at first hand the methods used by the United Nations in dealing with many international political and economic developments. I can state from experience that the approach of the Organization in dealing with the problems and crises in the world has gradually deviated from the philosophy advocated by the Charter, which is based primarily, on the one hand, on conferring on the Security Council the responsibility of taking the necessary measures to maintain international peace and security and, on the other, on the necessity for abiding by the resolutions adopted by the Council to face any threat to world peace. Nevertheless, individualism and not collectivism has for the most part had the upper hand—a situation that has led to a gradual retreat from internationalism and multilateralism in dealing with international problems.

206. What we direly need today is a thorough analysis and a scientific and realistic diagnosis of the current international situation—a diagnosis that should not seek to apportion blame or divide responsibility, but rather to invigorate the concepts of independence and solidarity with a view to defusing tension, confronting escalating violence and tackling economic problems.

207. The United Nations at age 40 is badly in need of the crystallization of a scientific conception, or rather a renewed outlook, in order to ensure the effectiveness of the system of collective security under the provisions of the Charter, because this system has been the core of the Organization's philosophy since the time when the Organization was still a dream in the minds of its founders. Now more than ever before, its capabilities need to be strengthened through a response by its Members to its resolutions, implementation of its will and a readiness to be guided by its collective wisdom, particularly in respect of the issues of international peace and security and the rights of peoples to independence and self-determination and to live within a secure international system conducive to the achievement of economic and social development.

208. Any careful study of the work of the Security Council will confirm that the raging rivalry between the two super-Powers in our contemporary world has had a negative impact on the possibilities available for the application of the provisions of the Charter, has detracted from the value and effectiveness of the philosophy of collective security, and has caused the Council—the principal body entrusted with the maintenance of international peace and security—to lose its ability to adopt decisive resolutions to halt aggression and settle international disputes, or even to follow up the implementation of its own resolutions, even if they were adopted unanimously.

209. Experience has proved that the Security Council, particularly at times of crises—and how numerous they are—has lost its ability to act, in most cases as a result of the lack of political will. This has prevented the Council from discharging its responsibilities and has reduced its role to voicing condemnations or launching appeals; in addition, the veto has frequently been abused—a fact which has resulted in international conflicts getting into a vicious circle of rivalry between the two conflicting blocs.

210. All those facts confirm the urgent need to review the existing system of collective security within the Organization, in order to make it more effective.

211. First among the methods to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in maintaining peace and security is the type of conduct engaged in by members of the Council and the political will they express—especially the Council's permanent members, which have special responsibilities.

212. A precondition for restoring the Council's effectiveness and ability to act is the availability of means—and, preceding that, the collective will—for ensuring the commitment by the parties to a conflict to carry out and abide by the Council's decisions. There is no doubt that there cannot be such a development if there is not co-operation among members of the Council and co-ordination between the Security Council and the General Assembly by means of overall permanent programmes to follow up resolutions adopted by the two organs.

213. It is regrettable that the Council's resolutions, even those adopted unanimously, have not been fully implemented—a fact that confirms the necessity for political will and the ability to ensure enforcement and response. Among the practical and vital methods to enhance the effectiveness of the Council, in addition to the presence of political will and collective conduct, is that vast spectrum of mechanisms available to the Council in treating situation and conflicts that may threaten international peace and security.

214. Those mechanisms take several forms, and their chances of success are varied. There is the innovative form represented by the establishment of peace-keeping forces to disengage belligerents and maintain the *status quo*. There are the good offices of the Secretary-General and the possibility, in the provisional rules of procedure of the Council, for it to hold periodic meetings to review the international situation and monitor grave incidents, within the framework of what has come to be known as preventive diplomacy. There is the Secretary-General's exercise of his powers in bringing to the attention of the Council any matter which may threaten the maintenance of international peace and security and in making contacts, conducting consultations and assembling information on areas of tension in the world.

215. Those varied forms of mechanisms available to the Council will be enriched and made more effective by updating and rationalizing the Council's rules of procedure, which, despite their adoption 40 years ago, remain provisional and not comprehensive or final. The time has come to update them and make them flexible enough to meet the requirements of international relations, taking into account the experience acquired over the years.

216. In the light of the preceding points, Egypt intends to introduce a specific initiative aimed at updating and rationalizing the procedures and working methods of the Council, with a view to increasing its effectiveness and enabling it to discharge its responsibilities at the right time. That initiative takes into account the proposals of the Secretary-General contained in his report to the Organization for 1982[3] and for this year. In our opinion, the proposals are objective, profound and candid in redressing the shortcomings of the Security Council and the United Nations as a whole, because of the ineffectiveness of the system of collective security.

217. The ideas put forward by Egypt stem from our firm belief in the need to advance the work of the Organization, especially its main bodies responsible for international peace and security.

218. Over the past two years the Council, in informal consultations, has discussed some of these ideas without reaching specific agreement on the method of achieving the desired reforms. We hope that the present anniversary celebration will provide a renewed impetus for more research and more creative efforts to crystallize those ideas and translate them into practical forms that will contribute to reinforcing the Council's effectiveness in the discharge of its responsibilities.

219. The great significance of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations lies in the renewal of adherence to the principles of the international organization, faith in the credibility of collective action and fidelity to the purposes and principles of the Charter. Guided by those principles and seeking to reach those objectives with a view to enhancing the ability of the Organization and increasing the effectiveness of its main body in maintaining international peace and security, Egypt will put forward during the current session its initiative and practical views as a token of renewed faith in the system of collective security, the pillar of the Organization since its establishment.

220. The tasks entrusted in the coming decades to the United Nations, and particularly the Security Council, will largely concern the fulfilment of its responsibilities under the Charter in settling international disputes, especially those which threaten international peace and security. Dozens of resolutions adopted by the Council, representing a basis of international unanimity which should be respected and implemented, still await effective mechanisms through which to do this. For example, the Council's resolutions on the Middle East and the Palestinian question still lack the practical and executive mandatory measures necessary in the absence of a serious response by the parties concerned. Furthermore, resolutions enabling the Palestinian people to exercise its right to return and to self-determination remain unimplemented because of the absence or paralysis of the political will on the part of some parties, and this is unacceptable. Resolutions on the establishment of a comprehensive, just and lasting peace in accordance with international law and respect for the right of the peoples and States of the region to existence and security, foremost among which is Security Council resolution 242 (1967), demands a more reasonable response. Resolution 242 (1967) should be implemented and all its provisions should be complied with. The commitment to the resolution as a whole should be followed up, in conformity with the principle of the inadmissibility of the conquest of territories by force, with a view to returning to their owners all the occupied Arab territories in the West Bank, including Jerusalem, Gaza and the Syrian Golan Heights. The repeated appeals by the Council to stop the war between Iran and Iraq have not been accompanied by the necessary mechanism for implementation and follow-up, and have thus lost credibility. The collective will frequently expressed by the Council concerning the regrettable developments in South Africa has been ignored and even challenged by the racist régime there.

221. The whole world is watching to see how the Security Council will discharge its responsibilities, promote and enhance its effectiveness, find new methods and procedures and capitalize on its powers and machinery to restore the confidence in its resolutions which has been shaken. There is no doubt that the primary responsibility with regard to an enlightened conviction of the importance of collective security, the necessity for a common political will, the capacity to enforce, if need be, implementation of the Council's resolutions, and early preventive diplomacy to contain hotbeds of tension and disputes through genuine co-operation in order to resolve them in the interest of international peace and security, rests with the permanent members of the Council.

222. In conclusion, we look forward to an era in the near future in which the Organization will become a bridge, or a place where cultures, civilizations and values mingle and thrive; an era in which it will become an alarm system warning of the dangers of natural and man-made disasters which threaten peoples and States and jeopardize the material and human environment alike. We look forward to a time when the Organization will herald a new era in international relations pervaded by peace, justice and prosperity for all, without distinction as to colour, race or religion.

223. On the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, let us move forward towards a better tomorrow, committing all our hearts and minds, with unshaken faith in justice and legitimacy. Let us walk bravely on a new and untrodden path, guided by understanding, not confrontation; dialogue, not disputation; solidarity, not disagreement; truth, not deception. Peace is our goal and our means as we fulfil the responsibilities entrusted to us by the people of the planet so as to create a better world for them and for the generations to come.

224. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Denmark, Mr. Uffe Ellemann-Jensen.

225. Mr. ELLEMANN-JENSEN (Denmark): May I start, Mr. President, by saying how pleased I am to see you in the Chair today. I am confident that under your able guidance we can conclude our deliberations successfully.

226. Denmark's strong and consistent support of the United Nations is well known. From the outset, our membership of the United Nations has been a cornerstone of Danish foreign policy. We have given practical expression to our belief in the role of the United Nations by, for example, contributing to the Organization's peace-keeping operations, by our firm support, in deeds as well as in words, for United Nations efforts in the economic, social and technical fields and by our efforts in the Security Council.

227. The Council, on which the Charter of the United Nations confers primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security, has—for reasons known to everyone—to a large extent been deprived of its ability to fulfil its original vocation. Achievements, however, do not have to be complete to be real. I fully agree with the Secretary-General that in the real conditions of international life, the Council has played an essential and often central role in providing stability and limiting conflict.

228. My Government has carefully considered how Denmark, as a member of the Council, can best contribute to the further strengthening of that organ in performing the tasks assigned to it in the Charter.

229. Our participation in the work of the Council is guided by two main considerations.

230. First, we strive to have the Council function as a forum of negotiation rather than debate. The Security Council should clearly distinguish itself from the General Assembly. Both organs are important, but in separate ways. For the Council to maintain and enhance its authority and its real influence on world events, it is essential that it speak with one voice. It is therefore a constant endeavour for Denmark to promote agreement in the Council. Unanimity is generally required for a clear and unequivocal signal to be sent from the Council to the parties to a conflict and to ensure that the Council's decisions are actually implemented.

231. Secondly, and this is related to the first point, we should like to see the Council approach regional conflicts within their regional context rather than as consequences of world-wide competition between East and West. It is in no way our intention to simplify the analysis of the regional conflicts or of the factors which aggravate them and sometimes even cause them. Efforts to solve them, however, should concentrate on their regional causes, which are often of an economic or social nature. When compared with these guidelines, our experience in the Council so far has been mixed.

232. As far as South Africa is concerned, we are generally encouraged by the way the Council has dealt with the issue during the past nine months. Denmark's national position on this question is clear. For many years we have considered the situation in South Africa to be a threat to international peace and security and a source of tension in all of southern Africa. To bring about the peaceful abolition of the *apartheid* system, the international community must increase its pressure on South Africa and make it more effective through the adoption of appropriate measures, including measures under Chapter VII of the Charter. The present situation calls for a large measure of realism and flexibility within the Council and for recognition of the importance of sending an unequivocal message to South Africa from the Council. We feel encouraged by the growing understanding that only the South African régime would benefit if the Council were prevented from expressing the universally shared opposition to *apartheid*.

233. As regards the situation in southern Lebanon and the conflict between Iran and Iraq, the results have been quite disappointing. If one looks at the provisions in the Charter which deal with the Organization's peace-keeping role, the Iran-Iraq conflict would appear to be just the kind of problem that the United Nations should be able to solve. None the less, while the Secretary-General, with the Council's support, has been able, thanks to a very persistent and competent effort, to achieve some results towards restraint in that otherwise bloody and indiscriminate conflict, the Security Council has not really been able to play its proper role.

234. Recently the members of the Council expressed their strong support for the mission of the Secretary-General on the Cyprus question. As a country which has contributed military forces to United Nations peace-keeping on the island for more than 20 years, we share the conviction of the Secretary-General that what has been achieved since his initiative of August 1984 should lead to an early agreement on the framework for a just and lasting settlement of the Cyprus question. We therefore strongly urge the parties to make a special effort in the coming weeks, in co-operation with the Secretary-General, to reach an early agreement.

235. Since his first annual report the Secretary-General has persistently tried to draw the attention of the Council and the Members of the Organization to opportunities for improvement, while at the same time clearly stating the shortcomings of the present state of affairs. His observations have given rise to much useful thinking. In this connection, I should like to recall the report stating the views of the five Nordic Governments on the strengthening of the United Nations which was forwarded to the Secretary-General in June 1983 [*S/15830, annex*]. In that paper we pointed out the desirability of strengthening the United Nations peace-keeping forces, of holding periodic meetings of the Council as part of the establishment of an early-warning system, and of a more frequent use by the

Secretary-General of his prerogatives under Article 99 of the Charter.

236. In his latest annual report, the Secretary-General makes a few concrete suggestions of a political nature for improving the standing of and respect for the Security Council. We agree especially with the suggestion that the Council in the near future make a deliberate and concerted effort to solve one or two of the major problems before it. We, for our part, believe that the Council should concentrate on the problems in southern Africa in the immediate future.

237. In conclusion, no one today could imagine a world without the United Nations, but much needs to be done to strengthen the Security Council's role in maintaining international peace and security. A process has been started, and the clock cannot be turned back. What is required is the full implementation of the provisions already in the Charter and, above all, sufficient political will on the part of conflicting parties to avail themselves of the Council machinery and to heed the Council's decisions. Progress in this direction may avert great human suffering and help make a reality of the motto of this fortieth anniversary: "United Nations for a better world".

238. The PRESIDENT: The next speaker is the State Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of China, Mr. Wu Xuegian.

239. Mr. WU XUEGIAN (China) (*interpretation from Chinese*): First of all, allow me to congratulate you warmly, Sir, on your assumption of the presidency of the Security Council for this month. The unswerving efforts that you have made to help settle a question left over from history between China and the United Kingdom and to promote international co-operation are well known and praiseworthy. As an old friend of yours, I am confident that with your rich diplomatic experience and outstanding skill you will guide this important meeting to success.

240. On the solemn occasion of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, it is undoubtedly of great importance for the Security Council to convene such a meeting as this at the ministerial level to deliberate on the item "United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security" This question is without doubt of prime importance.

241. The peoples of all countries aspire to build a better world in peace. The United Nations was founded 40 years ago for the very purpose of averting the scourge of another war. The Charter of the United Nations confers on the Security Council primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and the curbing of acts of aggression. In spite of there not having been a world war for four decades, the fierce arms race and recurring regional conflicts have subjected peace to constant threat and damage. The responsibilities of the Security Council today have not been lightened but have become heavier. In the interest of maintaining world peace and building a better world, the Council must be able to discharge its lofty responsibilities in a more effective way. We, as members of the Council, should respond positively to this reasonable demand.

242. Looking back over the past 40 years, we recognize that the Security Council has considered many conflicts in different parts of the world and adopted a considerable number of resolutions on the settlement of the issues involved, thus playing a positive role in preventing, defusing and checking conflicts and easing international tension. All this is commendable. However, it should also be noted that the Council took wrong decisions on certain questions, which went against the will of the world's peoples and harmed their interests. The point now is that, measured against the provisions of the Charter, the performance of the Council leaves much to be desired. What causes general concern and anxiety is that the Council often proves impotent when it is asked by Member States to take effective measures against breaches of the peace.

243. A positive and encouraging change in the post-war world is the emergence of a large number of newly independent States in the world arena, changing the composition of the United Nations and of the Security Council, where the third world and small and medium-sized countries are playing an increasingly important and constructive role. The balance sheet of the successes and failures of the Council in the past provides us with much food for thought. Whenever the Council adheres strictly to the purposes and principles of the Charter, reflects the just demands of the great majority of Member States, particularly the third world and small and medium-sized countries, and pools collective wisdom through full consultations, it achieves success in its work. Whenever the purposes and principles of the Charter are contravened and the will of the big Powers is imposed on the Council, it suffers setbacks. We should value this historical experience, which could serve as a reference and guide in our common quest for correct ways of resolving contemporary issues.

244. I should like to make a few observations on ways to strengthen the role of the Security Council.

245. First, in all its activities, including its peace-keeping operations, the Council must abide by the provisions of the Charter, and in particular its purposes and principles. This requires all States members of the Security Council strictly to observe and uphold in international affairs the principles of respect for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of other countries, the settlement of international disputes by peaceful means, non-interference in the internal affairs of others and consultations on an equal footing.

246. Secondly, in carrying out its duties the Council should earnestly heed the sound and correct views of Member States, support their reasonable demands and give expression to their legitimate aspirations. The Charter stipulates that the Security Council acts on behalf of United Nations Members and should uphold justice for

countries that are victims of aggression. Only thus will it be possible to ensure useful results in the work of the Council.

247. Thirdly, the permanent members of the Council should fulfil in good faith the special responsibilities conferred on them by the Charter. They should take the lead in complying with the purposes and principles of the Charter by actual deeds, honour and support the common will of the overwhelming majority of Member States, consult with the other members of the Council on an equal footing and work in close co-operation with them. World affairs should not be monopolized arbitrarily by a few big Powers. They can be handled well only through consultations on an equal footing among the countries concerned. Special responsibilities mean heavier duties, and the veto power should not be used as a tool to shield acts of aggression and injustice.

248. We are pleased to note that the Secretary-General has offered some ideas in his annual reports on the work of the Organization over the past few years, and many Members of the United Nations and members of the Security Council have also put forward suggestions in this respect. They include strengthening the co-ordination and co-operation between the Security Council, the General Assembly and the Secretary-General, ensuring the implementation of Security Council resolutions and supporting the Secretary-General in his active efforts in compliance with the relevant provisions of the Charter and the mandate of the Council. In our view, these proposals contain a considerable number of constructive ideas which merit further study. We sincerely hope that the Council will continue its efforts to enhance its efficiency and fulfil its duties and that concrete results can be achieved at an early date.

249. In order to strengthen the rule of the United Nations as a whole, we believe that, apart from the functions of the Security Council, it is imperative to enhance those of the General Assembly—an essential point that must not be neglected, since the Assembly has a wider representation compared with the Council. In recent years, the General Assembly has adopted a number of important resolutions on maintaining peace and security, opposing aggression and upholding justice, thanks to the efforts of the third world and small and medium-size countries. The overwhelming majority of Member States have called strongly for the strengthening of the role of the General Assembly. China supports this proposition.

250. As a founding Member of the United Nations and a permanent member of the Security Council, China is fully aware of the heavy responsibilities it shoulders. In the activities of the Organization and the Council, China has always abided by the purposes and principles of the Charter and devoted itself to the just cause of the maintenance of international peace and security. Pursuing an independent foreign policy, China has developed its relations with countries all over the world in line with the five principles of peaceful coexistence. On this solemn occasion commemorating the fortieth anniversary of the founding of the United Nations, I wish to reiterate that the Chinese Government and people will, as always, work with all other peace-loving countries and peoples for the preservation of world peace and for a better world, and will make their contribution towards the attainment of these goals.

251. The PRESIDENT: May I express my personal thanks to the State Councillor and Minister for Foreign Affairs of China for the kind remarks he made about my part—in his words—in helping to resolve a problem left over from history. That exercise was essentially a partnership, and I salute my partner in that exercise in the same spirit as that in which he saluted me.

252. I now call upon the next speaker inscribed on my list, the Minister for Foreign Affairs and Co-operation of Burkina Faso, Mr. Basile Laëtaré Guissou.

253. Mr. GUISSOU (Burkina Faso) (*interpretation from French*): My delegation is pleased that the Security Council has convened this official meeting on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, and that it is being held under your presidency, Sir.

254. Forty years ago, having learned the lessons of the conflagrations of two world wars, the peoples of the world expressed their common determination to work together to save succeeding generations from the scourge of war. Further, they proclaimed their faith in fundamental human rights, in the dignity and value of the human person, in equal rights for men and women and for nations great and small.

255. The practical, living expression of that common determination was the establishment of the United Nations, whose purposes include the maintenance of international peace and security, the development of friendly relations among nations based on respect for the principles of the equality of peoples and their right of self-determination, and the achievement of international co-operation for the solution of economic, social, intellectual and humanitarian problems and the promotion and encouragement of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms for all, without distinction as to race, sex, language or religion.

256. The question before us today concerns the role the United Nations in general and the Security Council in particular should play in contributing to a better world for all. That question makes us wonder, first and foremost, what we mean by "a better world for all", and secondly, what role the Security Council has played or could have played to achieve that end.

257. For my country, Burkina Faso, which is classified according to the statistics of the United Nations among the poorest in the world, a better world for all is a world where there no longer are ghettos in which millions of human beings stagnate because their skin is black or their culture different; a world in which all forms of exploitation, oppression and domination have ended; a world from which ignorance, hunger, thirst and sickness have been banished.

258. For my people, my country and its political leadership, a better world means, first and foremost, a guarantee

of our daily bread, drinking water, good health and the complete eradication of illiteracy for everyone. There and there alone lies the philosophy underpinning our understanding of "a better world for all". Beyond that specific, practical, realistic sphere, Burkina Faso can only indulge in sterile theorizing about the concepts of others and their interpretation of a better world in accordance with their own experience.

259. To be sure, the purposes of the United Nations were intended progessively to transform the world in precisely that way. Thus, on the eve of the commemoration of the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations, we should ask ourselves hard questions about the way in which, individually and together, we have been able to translate that determination into reality. In other words, we should engage in individual and collective self-criticism, evaluate our successes and our failures, and in the light of that evaluation, open up new perpectives for an Organization which is more dynamic because it is better adapted to the new situations of its Members. This is especially true of the Security Council, which, because of the role assigned to it in the Charter of the United Nations, necessarily determines, through its positive or negative actions, whether or not the purposes I have just mentioned are achieved.

260. Much constructive action has been taken by the United Nations. I will mention only the most important: in the task of decolonization, which has yet to be completed, many peoples and nations, thanks to their courageous action and their steadfastness, have achieved international sovereignty and national independence; a certain measure of international co-operation has been brought about; mankind has so far been spared a third world war. My delegation welcomes these successes, which clearly show what the world is capable of achieving with the concerted efforts of the peoples.

261. It seems more important to those of us who are concerned about the future of mankind, because our adherence to the purposes and principles of the United Nations puts us under the obligation to safeguard that future, that we blaze the trail and prepare the means for future successes. That will be possible only if each of our States has the political will to act everywhere and at all times with strict respect for the Charter.

262. During the past 40 years the Charter has been flouted frequently. The flourishing of science had led us to hope that the feeling of racial superiority which was at the root of colonialism and wars between nations would disappear for ever. Unfortunately, some of our failures indicate the survival of that feeling. The refusal to accept others as they are and the aggressive determination to impose on them our own economic, social, cultural and political values have created and continue to give rise here and there to hotbeds of tension and bloody confrontation.

263. That refusal, that negative determination, is seen every day in Africa, Asia, Latin America and elsewhere. Every day it is seen in the Janus-like polarization of the world which we all have encouraged, in one way or another, consciously or unconsciously, by our implicit acknowledgement that the world is divided into the super-Powers and the others, and, worse, by allowing those super-Powers to impose on us their own Manichean vision of the world.

264. Although believers and infidels alike think of the end of the world in terms of a divine curse, that refusal and that negative determination are surprising, frightening and shocking because of the boundless solitude into which they plunge those who do not possess the power to destroy our planet. The situation faced by mankind today brings us sharply into brutal contact with these new gods who, with a single gesture, sane or not, are able to put an end to life on earth. Because those gods have made the repository of international peace and security into a place of privilege from which they dictate their will to the world through their vetos, the Organization has been made incapable of eliminating once and for all every kind of threat to peace.

265. The Charter, for which Burkina Faso has the greatest and deepest respect, was conceived at a time when the historical circumstances and the development of science and technology were different from what they are today. The progress made by mankind in these fields has undoubtedly been a powerful factor for cross-fertilization, understanding and bringing peoples together. On the basis of the conditions at the time, those who drew up the Charter made it forward-looking in order to ensure its dynamism and effectiveness. Therefore we must ensure that it is never confined on any pretext whatesoever in the straitjacket of lethal immobility.

266. The Charter is not a remnant of history. It should be the history of nations in movement. It is thus in the interest of all nations to be certain that it is capable of transforming itself the better to deal with their developing concerns.

267. We know how often we are misunderstood and how we are called iconoclastic the minute we venture to speak of changes. Yet it is no exaggeration to say that if the Security Council did not exist, it would be utterly impossible to invent it today. If the Council now, as in the past, has been only marginally effective, that is because certain of its structures are to some extent out of step with the course of history. Therefore, for the sake of mankind, we should honestly and constructively tackle the problem of reforming them. Only in that way, we believe, can we really help the Council fully to discharge its primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security.

268. Throughout its history the Security Council has aroused great hopes. It is no exaggeration to say that its credibility has at times been called into question in a way that has caused concern. In the light of that past experience, we consider it our duty to give our views about the way in which its effectiveness can be increased and it can be made into the true guarantor of international peace and security. Since we have had the privilege of observing its workings both from outside and from within, we wish here and now to make a few specific proposals concerning its effectiveness.

269. We propose the enlargement of the membership of the Council. Our proposal is based essentially on the same reasons that prevailed in 1963 and which led to the amendment of Article 23 of the Charter, increasing the membership of the Council from 11 to 15. It is only right and proper that the United Nations, which has grown since then to the point of becoming nearly universal, should have its structures transformed in keeping with those changes so that it is better geared to its new dimensions. We believe it is necessary, indeed essential, to proceed today with the same sort of readjustment.

270. We propose that the right of veto enjoyed by the permanent members of the Council be reviewed and rectified, if not simply annulled. This right has made a considerable contribution to perpetuation of the domination of the few over the majority. On the threshold of the twenty-first century, it is difficult to understand how those who normally present themselves as the staunch advocates of democracy can accept and perpetuate such a situation. While we understand the main concern of the authors of the Charter, we denounce that right because it has lost its original substance. The right of veto, as we see it, should be rethought and seen as the expression of a common will and no longer as the manifestion of the power of a State that seeks to impose its own will on others.

271. Receptive as we are to the winds of change, and aware of the role we have to play in the Security Council in order to ensure respect for the Charter so that humanity may prosper, Burkina Faso has in its term of office endeavoured as far as possible to exercise restraint. Our constant and permanent concern has been, and will be, to ensure that our contribution to the search for solutions to the problems confronting the world is always unequivocally geared to safeguarding international peace and security.

272. Let us once again give vent to our creative genius. Once again let us endow ourselves with the political will to change that which obviously no longer accords with collective expectations. It is perfectly possible to conceive of the right of veto being allocated according to geographical distribution among the members of the Council. Such a change in an established order which seems to us to be outmoded would, provided all agreed to be strictly bound by their obligations and their commitments, undoubtedly make it possible to ensure implementation of the numerous decisions we have taken, which often remain dead letters.

273. We propose that in 1986 a high-level meeting of the Council be convened which would have on its agenda the question of disarmament, which should, we believe, be closely linked to the concept of economic and social development of mankind as a whole. Certainly it is not a normal situation when such an important issue, which represents a permanent threat to international peace and security, is not included on the agenda of the Council.

274. My delegation hopes, on the eve of the fortieth anniversary of our Organization, and at the end of the term of Burkina Faso on the Security Council, that each and every one of us will heed the appeal that has been made to us by humanity in the voice of the Secretary-General in his 1985 report on the work of the Organization. Peace and security are what humanity needs, not confrontation and ideological blocs. The commemoration of the fortieth anniversary should for each one of us be an opportunity to pledge ourselves to contribute to make the world a better one for all. We are duty-bound to turn the world into a place fit for mankind to live in.

275. Let us pool our efforts to put an end to the arrogance of those who are wrong-headed, to eradicate the tragic spectacle of children dying of hunger, to wipe out ignorance and to ensure the triumph of the legitimate struggle of peoples against the injustice of the present order, to silence the rattle of arms, and finally, with one concerted will, struggling for the survival of mankind, we can, as the President of my country, Captain Thomas Sankara, said at the thirty-ninth session of the General Assembly, join with the great poet Novalis:

> "Soon the stars will come back to the Earth where they have long been gone; soon the sun will return, the star will shine again among the stars, all the races of the world will gather together again after a long separation, the old orphaned families will find one another again and every day there will be new discoveries, more people will embrace one another; then the inhabitants of the old days will come back to the Earth, the ashes will be relit in each tomb, the flame of life will burn again, the old houses will be rebuilt, the old times will come again and history will be the dream of the present extended to infinity."[5]

276. The PRESIDENT: I now call on the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Australia, Mr. William Hayden.

277. Mr. HAYDEN (Australia): Mr. President, it occurs to me that I am the fourteenth person to be given the opportunity to open those windows you were talking about earlier this afternoon, which would suggest we have had the opportunity to provide a great deal of ventilation for those matters which concern us, and I trust the consequences will be markedly positive.

278. The common and continuing bonds of history and democratic traditions between our two countries lead me particularly to say that the Australian delegation and I are pleased that you—the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom—are presiding over this commemorative meeting of the Security Council on the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations.

279. Australia was one of those 51 nations that took part in the creation of the United Nations 40 years ago. It was a crucially significant development, and at the time we tried to emphasize important points about it as seen from the viewpoint of smaller nations. Great Powers had made the decisions about waging war and about ways to end war, but all nations had been drawn into the consequences of these decisions. Great nations had sought for themselves a near-monopoly of power, but they did not have a monop-

oly of wisdom. Peace had become indivisible: war by one nation now meant danger for all.

280. The realities of great power—its determinant effect on international relations and the existence of spheres of influence—were clearly understood. But smaller nations felt that they were entitled to their views, and to their views being accepted as a factor in decision-making in the new international arrangements.

281. This made for some feeling between great and small nations 40 years ago. It may still do so today. It is one of the great values of the United Nations that, after 40 years, the smaller voices can still be heard on matters affecting their well-being.

282. One of these matters is arms control and disarmament and the impact on it of the relations between the United States and the Soviet Union. Australia is a committed member of the Western association of nations. We do not feel any need to be embarrassed about that. But we are also concerned about the mistrust which exists between the super-Powers and the dangers created by their confrontation. We are not naïve. We understand that divisions so deep cannot be willed away or removed overnight.

283. But we do urge great Powers to take our concerns seriously. We urge them, in the course of this fortieth anniversary session and at the summit in November, to reach understanding on the need to contain the danger of conflict where their interests collide. We urge them to seek every opening to effective arms control and disarmament. For our part, we are determined to assist the process by continuing to put up ideas by which this can be achieved, especially through an effective and comprehensive ban on nuclear testing.

284. The great Powers must understand the common concern among smaller nations about what is seen as their increasing domination of events. They must appreciate the common fear that serious miscalculation by either of them, or a breakdown in the management of their tense and complex relationship, could lead to the ultimate disaster. No nation can evade the consequences of nuclear war. Indeed, it is now close to impossible to ignore the consequences of even regional unrest.

285. Look at the ripple effect of the sitution in South Africa. Australia is deeply concerned at the threat to world order arising from the activities of the South African Government, such as its obstruction of Namibian independence and its aggression against its neighbours. All these activities stem, of course, from its genuinely evil system of *apartheid*.

286. A tragedy of great magnitude is unfolding over South Africa. It could have been avoided if the warnings had been heeded which the United Nations has consistently given South Africa over many years. The white minority there seems intent instead on maintaining the essence of its political and economic privilege through the denial of fundamental human rights enforced by brutally coercive State power.

287. It is Australia's firm view that the application of sanctions against South Africa is necessary as a serious signal that *apartheid* and all its apparatus must be dismantled before a tide of bloodshed sweeps over that unhappy country.

288. The Australian Government has already instituted action against South Africa in such areas as official investment and trade. It has established a code of conduct in which Australian companies operating in South Africa undertake not to profit from *apartheid* by using racist labor laws and practices. We are working on proposals for next month's meeting of the Commonwealth heads of Government to appoint a group of international authorities to advance proposals for the peaceful transition of South Africa to a multiracial society based on universal adult suffrage.

289. We do not wish to see South Africa brought to its knees, but we do want to see it brought to its senses. And we want to do so before the violence now happening in South Africa spreads its effects beyond South Africa's borders. If the South African Government does not respond to the selective sanctions and voluntary measures so far applied to it, it is Australia's strong view that the Security Council should consider the next step: mandatory economic sanctions under Chapter VII of the Charter of the United Nations.

290. This brings me to a final important point. It concerns the role and effectiveness of the Council and particularly the remarks about this in the latest report of the Secretary-General.

291. We owe the Secretary-General a serious effort to translate his proposals into effective action. He has played a valuable and constructive role in dealing with major disputes, using powers assigned him by Article 99 of the Charter to bring disputes himself before the Council. He sent a mission last year to investigate allegations about the use of chemical weapons in the war between Iraq and Iran. In 1982, he undertook an initiative to end the hostilities over the Falklands. The Australian Government supports proposals that the Secretary-General be more intensively involved as mediator, arbitrator, negotiator or catalyst in seeking solutions to international problems which threaten to disturb the peace.

292. Since Australia has been a member of the Council, we have tried to help improve the Council's capacity for quiet diplomacy, through the reduction of the number of speakers in Council deliberations, for example. We have suggested that periodic meetings should review in a systematic way the state of international security. It is not responsible of the Council to wait until crises actually arrive before calling on the Secretary-General to try to settle them.

293. We agree also with the Secretary-General's approach that the Council make a concerted effort to deal with one or two of the major problems before it. We believe that the Council should redouble its attempts to

end the war between Iraq and Iran. The Australian Government has proposed that the Council should have separate private meetings with each of the parties to the conflict. The scope for progress towards a solution could be explored privately at such meetings. We must help break this impasse.

294. The Australian Government takes the view that practical, achievable improvements such as those I have just described will enhance the effectiveness of the Council in keeping and protecting the peace. It is a pity, in this context, that the idea did not find favour of a private, informal session of the Council today, in which we could have exchanged ideas freely and frankly on how to make the Council work more effectively. Nevertheless, I hope that, even in this more formal and ceremonial setting, our exchanges will be useful.

295. Our responsibility is, after all, enormous. The point should be firmly in our minds: we may not have another 40 years if the Council fails to respond to the challenges posed by our present threatening environment. It can meet these challenges only if it can strengthen its power and authority, as the Secretary-General has reminded us. The Council is now too important to the preservation of peace to be allowed to become bogged down in cumbersome, trivial and irrelevant forms. Let us try to start our second 40-year period of history with a determined policy of improving the Council as the world's peacekeeper, the main instrument by which we hand on security to the generations following on after us.

296. The PRESIDENT: I call on the Secretary of State of the United States, Mr. George P. Shultz.

297. Mr. SHULTZ (United States of America): As others have done, I salute the President for his and his country's persistently constructive role here in the United Nations and in their dealing with the world's problems.

298. Forty years ago, the Organization and the Charter of the United Nations embodied mankind's most cherished hopes for a better world—a world where international disputes could be settled peacefully, where self-determination would be advanced, where economic co-operation would promote prosperity and where human rights would be honoured. For four decades this grand vision has inspired millions across the globe. Today each of us, and especially members of the Security Council, has a duty to his own people and to posterity to keep that vision alive.

299. But none of us here harbours any illusions about our world or about the United Nations. International conflicts, aggression and violence still mar the global landscape, still bring suffering to millions, still threaten world peace. Hunger and disease still claim victims among the poor and needy. Freedom, and the most basic human rights, still lie trampled beneath the tyrant's boot in many parts of the world. The United Nations today is a troubled organization. But that is, in part, because it mirrors a troubled world.

300. For some, the evils prevalent in our world are evidence that the United Nations has failed, that its founders were little more than utopian dreamers, and that this idealistic venture of ours has broken apart in the rocky waters of reality. I disagree. The founders of the United Nations were not foolish idealists. They were statesmen, perhaps the greatest statesmen of this century. For them, the United Nations was no panacea for the world's ills. They knew that pursuing the ideals of the Charter in a world of sovereign States would be an endless, often disappointing task, that it would require perseverance and hard work on the part of all nations.

301. Yet the founders believed in the future. They believed that by setting standards towards which all nations could aspire and work, progress towards a better world could be made. They set themselves and their nations on a course without any certainty of reaching the final destination, but with the determination always to move forward—to greater prosperity, to greater freedom, to greater peace.

302. That is the test by which we must judge the United Nations today. Our goal must be to continue to move forward, to work for progress despite the obstacles. In doing so, we must combine idealism about the goals we seek with realism about how best to achieve them in this imperfect world. The United Nations can be a force for peace and human betterment if we have the will and the wisdom to make it so.

303. We have seen many successes over the past 40 years. The United Nations peacekeeping and peacemaking efforts have been valuable at critical times—in Korea, in the Congo, in Cyprus and on the Golan Heights. Through its various specialized agencies, the United Nations has helped eradicate diseases like smallpox; it has provided relief to millions of refugees throughout the world; it has served mankind well in the areas of health, communications and transportation. On all these issues the United Nations has remained true to the principles of the Charter, and the world is a better and safer place for it.

304. Unfortunately, the United Nations has also failed in important ways. And I do not mean that it has failed to remake the world and put an end to the evils we see all around us. That would truly be a Utopian expectation. I mean that the United Nations has often failed to remain true to itself and its own principles; it has failed to provide the guiding vision we need to help keep us on a straight path toward a better world.

305. Too often, the United Nations has been abused in the service of narrow, selfish national or bloc interests. Too often, it has been used as a platform for voices of hatred and bigotry—as in the case of the resolution 10 years ago equating Zionism with racism [*General Assembly resolution 3379 (XXX)*]. Too often, disputes and disagreements among nations and peoples have been magnified and exacerbated instead of being resolved through reasoned debate and discussion. Too often, the purposes and principles set forth in the Charter have been twisted, dis-

torted and manipulated in the service of goals antithetical to the vision of the founders.

306. We can do better than this. We owe it to future generations to restore and maintain the integrity of this great institution. My country recognizes that it has an important role to play. We all do. The United States is committed to protecting the United Nations against harmful and abusive practices. We are committed to ensuring that the principles of the Charter are honoured and adhered to. And we will remain committed so long as there is hope that the United Nations can continue to be a force for good. President Harry Truman said this 40 years ago: "We have solemnly dedicated ourselves and all our will to the success of the United Nations Organization". Today, with our hopes tempered by realism, I can tell you on behalf of all Americans, our will has not flagged, and our dedication has not wavered.

307. We, the members of the Security Council, are the focal point of the world's hopes. The major Powers represented here have a vital role to play in building the safer, more peaceful world we all seek. The Charter gave the Council formidable powers to help resolve disputes. Those powers should be used wisely and courageously in the service of peace.

308. We have seen that creative Council actions can provide a basis for resolving some of the most difficult issues of our time. Resolution 242 (1967), for instance, has provided the essential political and legal framework for Middle East peace-making. The lesson is that Security Council resolutions can have an impact when they are realistic, balanced, and constructive. One-sided actions and resolutions, on the other hand, have accomplished nothing, and never will. Selective condemnation has often exacerbated situations.

309. We have to make the Security Council work for peaceful solutions as effectively as possible. This may require greater and more systematic involvement of the Council at early stages of developing conflicts; wider capacities for fact-finding, observation, and good offices; more extensive and regular informal consultations among Council members; and greater use by the Secretary-General of his powers under Article 99 to bring threatening situations to the Council's attention.

310. I take note of the fact that many around this table have said more or less the same thing about what the Security Council should do, so perhaps there is an emerging consensus on some of these matters.

311. What we need, above all, is a greater commitment to fulfilling the role envisaged for the Council by the founders of the United Nations. This Council chamber should not be treated as another arena for name-calling, for ideological and political confrontation. As the Secretary-General has noted in his most recent report, Council members are the guardians of peace; no one else can perform this vital role. After 40 years, let us rededicate ourselves to the task.

312. We too must believe in the future. It is not for us to end the journey that began 40 years ago, or to deviate from the path set forth in the Charter, simply because the going has been hard. It is not for us to despair or take refuge in cynicism, but to labour constructively to make the United Nations better serve its original goals.

313. The true lesson of experience is a lesson of continued aspiration. The United Nations has done important work; there is much it can do to help the world maintain peace and improve the human condition. Progress toward the goals of the Charter has been possible where idealism and realism have been harnessed together.

314. The failure of the United Nations to meet all its lofty aims is no cause for despair. We cannot make the world over with the stroke of a pen or a well-turned phrase, but we can work to ensure that the United Nations guides us on a straight course in our common journey. We must continue to set high goals that inspire us to work harder and to persevere. As President Reagan said in his address to the General Assembly two years ago:

> "You have the right to dream great dreams. You have the right to seek a better world for your people. All of us have the responsibility to work for that better world and, as caring peaceful peoples, think what a powerful force for good we could be. Let us regain the dream the United Nations once dreamed."[6]

315. The PRESIDENT: I now venture to speak for a moment or two not in my capacity as President but as Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the UNITED KINGDOM.

316. I begin by extending my personal thanks to colleagues for the distinguished, thoughtful and eloquent way in which they have presented their insights and observations to the Council this afternoon. I should like also to echo a thought that was common to almost every one of the statements and join my colleagues in paying a tribute to the Secretary-General—the fifth holder of that office, someone whom we all know to be well qualified by his experience as a previous permanent representative of his country, by his distinguished years of service in the Secretariat. He was well qualified when he was chosen; he has not disappointed us. We are enormously grateful to him.

317. It has been a privilege for me to have the opportunity of presiding over this historic meeting, to play my part on behalf of the United Kingdom—able to contribute something from our experience and our connection with the United Nations. The United Kingdom was a co-architect of the Charter of the United Nations, one of the nations involved with the birth of the United Nations. The United Kingdom was the nation that had the privilege of serving as host to the first meeting of the Security Council, in London on 17 January 1946. So we have been actively involved in the United Nations throughout its history, actively involved as one of the permanent members taking part in the whole range of its activities. We have done so, well aware of our special responsibilities as one of the permanent members of this Council. We echo the words of

our colleague of the People's Republic of China, who reminded the permanent members of the duties and obligations that we owe to the United Nations as a result of our tenure of that position.

318. If one has to express in a sentence a judgement on the Organization and on the Council thus far, it is a judgement that has been made in most of the statements this afternoon. It is that this is not simply a forum in which 15 separate nations express 15 separate national points of view. The same thought has recurred in many of the statements today. In the statement of the French representative, the Council was described as a college whose members are prepared to search for common ground. Our Malagasy colleague reminded us of the spirit of co-operative consultation that should inspire us, and our Danish colleague reminded us of the need for us to speak with one voice.

319. This meeting surely demonstrates, more perhaps than some of us might have expected, the clear sense of collective purpose that should inspire us and that to a large extent does just that.

320. Of course, over the 40 years of its existence the Council, like every institution, has seen its role and style evolve, but it has not forgotten the objective of which our Indian colleague reminded us, in Article 24 of the Charter, where the Council is defined as the supreme mechanism for the maintenance of international peace and security. So it has remained and so it should remain, although the methods have changed and will change.

321. One thing that I think has happened over the years is that the Council has probably turned out to be an agent more of persuasion than of coercion; that our functions, when we perform them at our best, have tended to move away from open public meetings to discussions in confidence; and in that way and in others, we have achieved some notable successes.

322. I was struck by another phrase used by our Danish colleague, who said: "Achievements . . . do not have to be complete to be real" [*supra, para. 227*]. One of those achievements was mentioned by the United States Secretary of State, namely, the success that we have achieved in defining the terms of settlements that have to be achieved, the importance of resolutions 242 (1967) and 338 (1973) as an enduring blueprint for peace in the Middle East, the importance of resolution 435 (1978) as a basis for progress on the situation in Namibia.

323. If we look in a different direction for practical achievements, the Secretary-General, the representative of Trinidad and Tobago and others reminded us of the importance of peace-keeping forces. In the definition of Mr. Brian Urquhart, who sits behind the Secretary-General, a peace-keeping force is an internationally constituted pretext for the parties to a conflict to stop fighting and a mechanism to maintain a cease-fire. It is not a bad invention, which has been successful in the Lebanon with the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon and in Cyprus for more than 20 years with the United Nations Peace-keeping Force in Cyprus, a force towards the cost of which the United Kingdom is this year contributing approximately $24 million. We do not begrudge this, because that Force exemplifies what peace-keeping forces can achieve.

324. However, we still find ourselves asking—and it is right that we should—whether the Council is as effective as we would wish; whether, in the phrase of the representative of the Soviet Union, there are lessons for the future that we can learn from the past, whether we can, as the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Burkina Faso asked, find a new dynamic or must remain—to use his rather gloomy phrase, though I would not be quite as gloomy as that—confined in lethal immobility? I think not.

325. It is possible at times to be discouraged as one looks at any organization. Sir Winston Churchill, speaking about the United Nations as long ago as 1946, asked: "What happens if the United Nations themselves are sundered by the awful schism and clash of ideologies, interests, policies and passions? What happens if with all our loyal endeavours we can build no more than a Tower of Babel?" In a sense we have had many answers to that question in this afternoon's debate. We were reminded by the representative of Peru of the need to overcome the temptation to adopt rhetorical and repetitive approaches. The representative of Thailand echoed the same thought, when he said that this was not a theatre but a forum for serious diplomacy.

326. It is for those reasons that we need to consider why disputes are brought before the Council. If it is a platform for rhetoric, the Council's role is doomed to be that of an ineffective onlooker; but if it is a place for political dialogue and negotiation, the Council has an effective role indeed. We have been reminded during the discussion of many ways in which we can improve its effectiveness. Above all, perhaps, we have been reminded that the responsibility for adopting those improvements rests with those seated around this table. The responsibility for making the Council more effective rests with every member. The representatives of France and Egypt said that what was lacking too often was the necessary political will.

327. I was struck by what Secretary of State Shultz said about the common thread that went through many of the speeches—that is, the extent to which we were willing to respond to suggestions for improvement, many of them attributed to the Secretary-General himself: that the Council could engage in more preventive diplomacy; that we should consider instituting regular meetings to consider disputes not formally brought to our attention; that the Secretary-General should bring matters to the attention of the Council at an early stage; that we should examine our procedures critically. Not every problem is best considered by being publicly debated; not every debate is best terminated by a resolution. The idea of private, informal meetings might reduce the scope for propaganda and increase the Council's ability to play a constructive role.

328. So there are many suggestions before us as to how we can improve our methods, and suggestions, too, as to

the objectives to which we might apply those methods. There is a realistic acknowledgement that not every dispute is capable of resolution by the United Nations or any other organization, but a realistic reminder, too, that there are certain longstanding disputes not dominated by the East-West divide that surely deserve a fresh bout of our attention, which call for special efforts, as the representative of Australia reminded us. He mentioned more than one. There is the Iran-Iraq dispute, where no clash of great-Power interest is involved and where there is almost a universal will for settlement. However, the involvement of the Council is dependent upon the active consent of the parties, which we all hope will be forthcoming. That is one field in which the Secretary-General's efforts are of supreme importance and deserve our support.

329. Another example is the Arab-Israel dispute, where the urgent need for a balanced, negotiated settlement strikes us all so clearly, a settlement providing for the secure existence of Israel and the self-determination of the Palestinian people, with resolution 242 (1967) providing the necessary basis; where we can welcome King Hussein's initiative and can all surely seek to encourage a step-by-step approach towards a comprehensive solution.

330. Yet another example is Cyprus, where the United Nations role is essential, because both sides have confidence in it, where the current initiative offers a unique opportunity, but where once again the Secretary-General needs the support of the Security Council.

331. Then there is southern Africa, where the situation in so many ways is of major concern to us all, where we see in its most striking form an example, in the words of the representative of Trinidad and Tobago, of man's inhumanity to man; and South Africa, where we all join in rejecting *apartheid* for just that reason, where our objective is clear—fundamental change, where we must ensure that our actions contribute effectively to that end, where I believe we should take care not to allow the Council to degenerate into a place simply for debate for and against mandatory trade boycotts, where we should ask ourselves whether we cannot build on the Council's role there, too, as an agent of persuasion.

332. The thread running through so many interventions this evening was picked up most effectively by the Secretary of State of the United States, when he said—to paraphrase—that the United Nations is not less relevant than it was 40 years ago, not less important than it was 40 years ago, it is more necessary, more important; because we have come thus far, we have further to go together.

333. We have recognition that the Council's relevance to today's problems and the problems of the future depends on the will of its members to put it to good use. The Council can focus attention, elaborate frameworks for settlement and promote negotiation, but its success in doing that ultimately depends upon the willingness of Member States to recognize its authority and to use its resources.

334. It is right that in this anniversary year we should examine ways in which the Security Council can function more effectively and examine ways in which the United Nations as a whole can function more effectively. In the words of our Australian colleague tonight, we owe that to the Secretary-General and to those who will come after in his office and those whom we seek to serve in the world outside. Perhaps most important of all is for Member States—those which we represent—to examine our own practice; for Member States to recommit themselves to the ideals of the Charter; for Member States to search for practical ways to pursue its objectives.

335. The Security Council has achieved much. It can achieve more. So let there be no doubt of the message to the world from this historic meeting: that the Council has rededicated itself anew to working for a better world.

336. I resume my function as PRESIDENT of the Council.

337. The members of the Security Council have authorized me to make the following statement on their behalf:

"The Security Council met in public at the Headquarters of the United Nations in New York on Thursday, 26 September 1985, at the level of Foreign Ministers, to celebrate the fortieth anniversary of the Organization.

"The meeting was chaired by the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland as the President of the Security Council for September. Statements were made by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic, Trinidad and Tobago, Thailand and Peru; by the Permanent Representative of Madagascar to the United Nations; by the Minister of State for Commerce of India; by the Minister for Foreign Affairs of France, Egypt, Denmark, China, Burkina Faso, Australia, the United States of America, and the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, as well as by the Secretary-General.

"The agenda for the commemorative meeting was:

'United Nations for a better world and the responsibility of the Security Council in maintaining international peace and security'.

"The members of the Council welcomed the opportunity provided by the fortieth anniversary of the United Nations to reaffirm at a high level their obligations under the Charter and their continued commitment to its purposes and principles. They conducted a wide-ranging review of the international situation. They expressed their deep concern at the existence of various threats to peace, including the nuclear threat. While acknowledging that it has not always proved possible for the Organization to eradicate those threats, they underlined the continuing relevance of the United Nations as a positive force for peace and human advancement. They welcomed the continuing growth of

the membership of the Organization to a point where the objective of universality of membership, which they endorsed, had almost been achieved.

"The members of the Council were cognizant of the primary responsibility for the maintenance of international peace and security conferred by the Charter on the Security Council and of the special rights and responsibilities of its permanent members. They stressed that a collegial approach within the Council was desirable to facilitate considered and concerted action by the Council as the main instrument for international peace. They acknowledged that the high hopes placed in the Organization by the international community had not been fully met and undertook to fulfil their individual and collective responsibility for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace with renewed dedication and determination. They agreed to employ appropriate measures available under the Charter when considering international disputes, threats to the peace, breaches of the peace and acts of aggression. They recognized the valuable contribution made on many occasions by United Nations peace-keeping forces. They called again upon the entire membership of the United Nations to abide by their obligations under the Charter to accept and carry out decisions of the Security Council.

"They agreed that there was an urgent need to enhance the effectiveness of the Security Council in discharging its principal role of maintaining international peace and security. Accordingly, they resolved to continue the examination of the possibilities for further improvement of the functioning of the Security Council in carrying out its work in accordance with the Charter. In this context, they paid special attention to the suggestions addressed to the members of the Council in the Secretary-General's annual reports on the work of the Organization. They thanked the Secretary-General for those reports and encouraged him to play an active role within the scope of his functions under the Charter."

338. The Security Council has thus concluded its business for the commemorative meeting, and I declare the meeting adjourned.

The meeting rose at 7.25 p.m.

NOTES

[1] *Official Records of the General Assembly, Fortieth Session, Annexes,* agenda items 48 to 69 and 145, document A/40/192.

[2] *Ibid., Fortieth Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/40/1), p. 3.*

[3] *Ibid., Thirty-seventh Session, Supplement No. 1 (A/37/1).*

[4] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings,* 9th meeting.

[5] *Ibid., Thirty-ninth Session, Plenary Meetings,* 20th meeting, para. 80.

[6] *Ibid., Thirty-eighth Session, Plenary Meetings,* 5th meeting, para. 43.

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